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EDMUND BURKE AND ROME

By

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY[*]

Edmund Burke was the child of a mixed marriage. His father was a member of the Established Church of Ireland; his mother was a Roman Catholic. In keeping with a custom then prevalent, the sons of such a union were brought up in the religion of the father while the daughters adopted their mother's faith. Burke and his brothers became members of the Established Church and their sister a Catholic. In addition to the fact that his mother and sister were Catholics, Burke had a large number of Catholic relatives among his mother's people, the Nagles of Ballyduff. As an undergraduate at Trinity College, Dublin, Burke revealed the deep spiritual feelings which were to characterize him throughout his entire life.[1] Just before taking his degree, he founded a short-lived periodical, the *Reformer,* which he produced virtually single-handedly. In one of this series, the reader was told that:

> A truly religious life is indispensable at all times, but never more than at this, when we commemorate the time our Creator became our Redeemer, and for our sake manifested in the highest manner the highest

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[*] Mr. Mahoney is associate professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This paper was originally delivered as the presidential address at the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in New York, December 29, 1957.

[1] Cf. e.g., letters to Richard Shackleton, Arthur P. I. Samuels, *Early Life, Correspondence and Writings of Edmund Burke* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 57-59.

attributes of his divinity, his love and his power, the one in dying for us, and the other in conquering death, by giving that glorious proof of an immortality and being himself the First Fruits of the Resurrection.[2]

After leaving Dublin for London to commence his legal studies, Burke made several enduring friendships during his first year in England. Among them were Dr. Christopher Nugent, an Irish Catholic physician practicing at Bath, and his daughter, Jane. The possibility exists that Burke's refusal to be called to the bar may be traced to his love for Jane Nugent, because the only formality then required of a legal aspirant was that, when he was due to be called, he had to take an oath in denunciation of the pope. To have done so would have been an affront to both Jane and her father who were Catholics.[3] While there is undoubtedly some plausibility to this, it is a fact that Burke had consented to study law in the first place only to please his irrascible father and had never derived any pleasure from it. The net result of his refusal was that his father cut off his allowance.

He managed to secure occasional work as a secretary to persons in politics but found time to devote to writing. In 1756 he published anonymously his first book, *A Vindication of Natural Society,* which was an attack upon the rationalist approach of Bolingbroke to religion. To Burke it was self-evident that religion required something more than reason alone for its foundation. Faith, too, was indispensable, for without it the social order would be unable to withstand the attacks of the rationalists and would be in danger of destruction. The following year Burke was wed to Jane Nugent, a Catholic. Although Mrs. Burke subsequently joined her husband's church and adhered to it for the rest of her life, the fact that Burke would marry a Catholic revealed his strong attachment to those of that faith.

Burke's early literary achievements resulted in the widening of his circle of friends to the point that it included some influential persons, although we find him disclaiming at the time that he had many friends.[4] A meeting with William Gerard Hamilton in 1759 was destined to launch Burke's career in the sphere of practical politics, a field toward which he was becoming increasingly attracted. He was invited to accompany Hamilton to Ireland as his private secretary when the latter became chief secretary to the new lord lieutenant there. Upon his return to Ireland, Burke felt strongly the need of improving the lot of the Catholics, the nation's downtrodden and proscribed majority. Pitt had recently achieved some success in quieting the discontented Scots Highlanders by allowing them to enlist in the British army. To Burke the time seemed propitious to emulate this success in Ireland. Were it successful, he reasoned that other steps could then follow to assist the Catholics. Burke convinced his employer, Hamilton, to introduce a bill in the Irish Commons, providing that six regiments of Irish Catholics under their own officers should be raised for service in Portugal, but the measure was overwhelmingly defeated. Among the arguments against it was the claim that even to arm Catholics for service abroad would be too dangerous.[5] Thus, Burke's first attempt to bring about some measure of relief for the Catholics of Ireland ended in failure.

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[2] *Ibid.,* p. 176.

[3] Sir Philip Magnus, *Edmund Burke, A Life* (London, 1939), p. 11.

[4] Burke to Mrs. Montagu, October 6, 1759, Montagu Manuscripts, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

But initial setback did not discourage Burke who determined to make a thorough study of the laws against the Catholics in Ireland. The result was his famous "Tracts on the Popery Laws."[6] The exact year in which this study was written is not known, but it did not make its public appearance until after the author's death.[7]

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[5] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part X. The Manuscripts and Correspondence of James, First Earl of Charlemont* (London, 1891), I, 19.

[6] *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke* (12 vols. Beaconsfield Edition. Boston, 1901) VI, 299-360.

[7] An explanation for this, it is claimed, was the fact that Burke had inherited some property on his brother Garret's death in 1765. The latter acquired it on a 999 years' lease so as to protect his mother's family, the Nagles, who, as Catholics, could not then hold land beyond thirty-one years under the penal laws. To avoid the danger of some dishonorable member of the family's turning Protestant to claim the land for himself under the penal code, a dummy Protestant "discoverer" was put up by prearrangement. He secured the property and immediately turned it over to Garret Burke. Thus, the Protestant Burkes held the property in trust for the Nagles.

In 1777, one Robert Nagle turned Protestant in order to claim the estate but failed in his endeavors. Burke's refusal to have anything to do with him gave rise to the charge by his enemies that he was guilty of conniving with his brother to defraud Robert Nagle. C. W. Dilke, *Papers of a Critic* (London, 1875), II, 364, says that this business, in which he believed Burke guilty, may have prevented his publishing the "Tracts." Magnus, *Burke*, pp. 336 f. could find no evidence to support such a view and fully exonerates Burke. The most

All that remains is a fragment, but there is enough extant to get a good view of Burke's feelings on the fierce injustice of these laws. Whether or not he ever finished the work is not known. That is was only a fragment in Burke's own last years is shown by a letter written to him by Dr. French Laurence in which the latter requested that Burke send him "the fragments of the review, which you once made, of the laws against the Irish Catholicks."[8] Aside from any other considerations, the "Tracts" is significant because it is the first work by Burke in his public career on a matter of practical politics. Although Burke's proofs of the impolicy of the penal laws are incomplete in this fragment, there is enough left to have shown his views incontrovertible. The opinions which he expressed thus early in his life remained unchanged to the end of his days.[9] These were ever the same, but he did alter the basis of his case in pleading the Catholic cause. He changed from the high grounds of natural rights to those of prudence, justice, and expediency, a transformation dictated by his opposition to the doctrine of the rights of man espoused by the French Revolution. To have continued pleading the Irish Catholic cause on the grounds of natural rights after 1789 was undesirable. Writing to Dr. John Curry, Irish Catholic physician and historian, on August 14, 1779, Burke declared that his actions in regard to Catholic relief were based upon a uniform principle which regulated his conduct. That fundamental doctrine was a detestation of "all kinds of public injustice and oppression." It was this, he said, which made him so strongly opposed to the penal laws.[10]

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complete account of the affair is to be found in *The Lectures, Essays, and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Napier, Bart.* (Dublin, 1888), pp. 50-57.

Burke himself reviewed much of the history of this business in a letter dated December 9, 1777, addressed to an unknown person. In it he called attention to the fact that the courts had ruled against Robert Nagle. *New Monthly Magazine,* XVI (1826), 153-156.

[8] *The Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke and Dr. French Laurence* (London, 1827), p. 79.

[9] Cf. letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, January 3, 1792, *Writings,* IV, 244, also a second letter to Langrishe, May 26, 1795, *ibid.,* VI, 384, wherein he said that they had discussed this legislation almost thirty-five years ago and were then and had continued ever since in agreement on every part of the system.

[10] *The Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke: Between the Year 1744, and the Period of His Decease, in 1797,* eds. Charles William, Earl Fitz-William and Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke (4 vols. London, 1844), II, 292.

During the years of Burke's return to Ireland in Hamilton's service, agrarian disturbances were commonplace. These uprisings were chiefly the work of secret societies composed of peasant farmers, and the cause was economic. The blame for these uprisings, however, was laid by the ruling class in Dublin to a plot engineered, it was claimed, by the French who sought to promote rebellion in Ireland. The Catholics were accused of having conspired with the French in a "popish" plot, it being tacitly assumed that a common religion automatically created a community of interests. Acutely aware of the true facts of the situation, Burke managed to have an official investigation conducted into the causes of the disturbances. He well knew that the claim of a foreign plot was simply a good excuse for continuance of the absolute power vested in the hands of a small minority and he saw that the peasant had been driven to extremes by the inhuman tactics of their relentless oppressors. Furthermore, he felt the injustice of ascribing the composition of these bands exclusively to Catholics.[11]

The investigation which Burke inspired was directed by the Irish Chief Justice, Aston. The latter thoroughly probed the matter and disclosed his findings in a letter to Hamilton on June 24, 1762. He found that foreign plots were not the cause. Rather if was purely domestic, an economic complaint—the price of labor was too cheap, that of food too high, and the conditions of land tenure excessive and oppressive. Aston went on to say that "however industriously the opposite had been promoted, Papist and Protestant were promiscuously concerned", and stated candidly that there were more Catholics involved simply because they constituted the majority of the nation's inhabitants.[12] Burke's interest in seeing that justice was accorded his much maligned fellow countrymen was so great that it was difficult for his performances to match his intentions. Among his papers there was found an unfinished account of these agrarian disturbances[13] which seems to have been composed around 1768 or 1769, at any rate, early in his parliamentary career. The sketch of these disorders was dictated by the fact that the results of Aston's investigation were not well known among the members of the British Parliament. Thus, in the very dawn of his long political career Burke correctly placed the blame for these agrarian uprisings on poor domestic economic conditions. The harsh punishments visited on the offenders touched his sensitive feelings so deeply that he never ceased to decry the injustice of murderous punishment in consequence of pretended conspiracies on the part of the Irish Catholics with a foreign power.[14]

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[11] Years later in a great speech at Bristol, on September 6, 1780, he declared that crimes are the acts of individuals, not of denominations, and that to classify men by broad descriptions in order to interdict and punish them in the mass was an unfair and succinct method which prevented much trouble about proof. *Writings,* II, 418.

[12] *Correspondence,* I, 39 f.

[13] *Ibid.,* I, 41-45.

Following the return of Burke and Hamilton to England and their famous quarrel, the former's next position was as private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, the new British prime minister. Scarcely had he begun work in this capacity than an attempt was made to ruin him with his employer.[15] He successfully refuted, as far as Rockingham was concerned, the charge that he was in reality a disguised Jesuit. Unfortunately, the rumor that Burke was a secret Catholic was destined to endure for the rest of his life, and his tormentors never ceased to delight in claiming that he was a former Jesuit who had been educated in the Jesuit College of St. Omer in Northern France[16], charges that persisted even after his death.[17] Burke himself is the authority for the fact that he never even saw St.

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[14] E.g., *Writings,* IV, 224 f.; 254; VI, 371; *Correspondence,* IV, 273.

[15] *Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons, During the Thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain, Commonly Called the Unreported Parliament,* ed. John Wright (London, 1841), I, 276 n.

[16] E.g., *Public Advertiser,* October 19, 1770; *Gentlemen's Magazine,* L (December, 1780), 619; *Daily Universal Register,* January 22, 1785; and *Morning Chronicle,* March 11, 1796. His supposed education at St. Omer tagged him for life with the nicknames of "Neddy St. Omers" and "Jesuit Ned." The notorious John Wilkes once explained the origin of the St. Omer rumor in this way: "In reply to an argument used by Burke in the House, somebody said it was only fit for a Jesuit to urge. It was clear from his accent, name, and connexions, that he was an Irishman: and Irishman and a papist, in the opinions of some of our honest country gentlemen, were synonomous: St. Omer contained a Jesuit seminary: at this seminary many Irish priests were educated: —ergo, it was a clear case among the wise men of Gotham, that Burke must be a Jesuit, and must have been educated at St. Omer." James Prior, *Life of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (5th ed. London, 1854), p. 39.

[17] In a cartoon published December 1, 1797, by S. W. Fores, London, Burke was caricatured as a "Blade in a Jesuit rug." The Sir Robert Peel Collection of Political Caricatures, Broadsides, Portraits, etc., Vol. XII, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Omer until 1773.[18] It was not long before Burke's genius made itself abundantly clear to Rockingham, who saw the desirability of using his talents in the House of Commons. Accordingly, the pocket borough of Wendover provided him with a seat. He was elected on December 23, 1765, and took his seat after the Christmas recess and in the short space of a few days he won wide acclaim through the ability displayed in his maiden speech.

Near the end of his second year in Parliament Burke made his first speech in defense of the Catholics, a position that once taken he never deserted. The speech also marked the commencement of his long battle in Commons against the power of the Irish ascendancy, another stand from which he never wavered. On this particular day a previous speaker had made the gratuitous and insulting observation that Ireland, being in great part Roman Catholic, was "a rotten part of the British Dominions." Burke followed him and said that if the country were "rotten," it was the fault of the "ill policy of Government towards the body of the subjects there." He laid it on "heavy," and no one elected to answer him, so the matter was dropped.[19]

It was not until Burke's prestige was elevated by his winning a seat at Bristol in 1774 that he was in a position to attempt something significant on behalf of the Catholics.[20] The American war, which broke out the following year, had gone so badly that Burke felt the time had come to do something for Ireland to conciliate her. The desirable thing seemed patent to him—improve the benighted condition of the great majority of the Irish people, the Catholics. Yet it was a business which called for the utmost circumspection. A happy solution lay in setting Ireland a good example by affording some relief to the Catholics of England. For him to take the lead openly in such a move would be impolitic, since the old charge that he was a secret Catholic would be sure to be raised. His objective could be accomplished by entrusting the direction of a bill for Catholic relief to another member of his party thereby leaving himself free to guide and direct the progress of the measure from behind the scenes. Sir George Savile, member of an aristocratic family against whom no cries of "popery" could be raised, was easily induced to sponsor the bill. John Dunning, Recorder of Bristol, a man who has been called the foremost advocate of the day,[21] agreed to second the measure.

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[18] "Extracts from Mr. Burke's Table-Talk at Crewe Hall, Written down by Mrs. Crewe," *Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society,* VII (London, 1862-1863), 52f.

[19] Burke to Charles O'Hara, November 27, 1767, O'Hara Manuscripts. The original letters are the private property of Mr. Donal F. O'Hara of Annaghmore, County Sligo, Ireland. The late Canon Robert H. Murray made transcripts of these letters which were presented by Mrs. Murray to the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, upon his death. The writer examined them at the Bodleian in 1948. The above quotation is from microfilm of the Burke-O'Hara correspondence in the possession of Professor Thomas W. Copeland, editor of the forthcoming "Correspondence of Edmund Burke," which Professor Copeland graciously made available to me in Sheffield in 1954. Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University has edited the Burke-O'Hara correspondence in his capable and original book, *Edmund Burke, New York Agent with His Letters to the New York Assembly and Intimate Correspondence with Charles O'Hara 1761-1776* (Philadelphia, 1956).

[20] In the light of his Catholic sympathies it was rather ironic that one of the objections to the re-election of the Tories at Bristol was that they had been guilty of "establing [*sic*] the *Roman Catholic Religion* in Canada on the Ruins of the Protestant Religion of the *Church of England.*" Bristol Election Broadsides, New York State Historical Society, New York.

Brought in on May 14, 1778, the bill, being a moderate one, passed Commons unanimously and experienced very little opposition in Lords. Despite Burke's silence during the progress of the bill, his known frank and undisguised championship of the cause of Catholicism resulted in its being universally understood in Parliament that he was its real sponsor.[22] Less than two weeks later a measure for Catholic relief was introduced in the Irish House of Commons. After a hard fight it prevailed in both houses at Dublin. While it was being debated Burke wrote to the Irish Speaker, Edmund Sexton Pery, a letter that revealed the important role which he was playing in this affair.[23] Pery was delighted a few weeks later to inform Burke that the proposal had been enacted.[24] On the same day, Luke Gardiner, sponsor of the measure, also wrote Burke for the same purpose.[25] Pery again contacted Burke shortly afterward to ask a number of detailed questions about the Catholics of Ireland since "only a beginning had been made" in breaching the penal code.[26] Burke had also been asked for similar information by the British Attorney-General,

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[21] J. Paul de Castro, *The Gordon Riots* (London, 1926), p. 8.

[22] Richmond Lennox, *Edmund Burke und sein politisches Arbeitsfeld in den Jahren 1760 bis 1790* (Munich, 1923), p. 229.

[23] Burke to Pery, June 26, 1778, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[24] *Correspondence,* II, 232.

[25] *Ibid.,* 233 ff.

[26] *Ibid,* I, 239 ff.

Alexander Wedderburn, who told him that Burke could "I know . . . refer me to chapter and verse of all that part of ecclesiastical history that regards our tests." [27] And Dr. John Curry, Catholic historian and physician, went so far as to tell him that he was really the author of the bill since he had given Curry a copy of an address and petition for the relief of the Irish Catholics in 1764 which Curry and the other Catholic leaders considered in 1778 so excellent that it formed the basis of their petition at that time.[28]

So grateful was the Catholic Association of Ireland for the work which Burke had done that they offered him a gift of 500 guineas as a token of their appreciation.[29] In refusing the offer, Burke, who sorely needed the money, informed Dr. Curry that he could not accept compensation for work done by him on the public account. His endeavors in this business, in which he admitted that he was "very active and very earnest, both in public and in private," were guided, he explained, by his detestation of "public injustice and oppression," a fact which had always made him abhor the penal laws. The modest beginning toward correcting them which had just been made was nothing more in his estimation than just that—a commencement. He advised the Catholics to manifest their devotion to the government by showing themselves dutiful subjects of the crown, but he warned against their affection taking on the form of servility. This was a particular piece of advice that he never refrained from reiterating in his dealings with the Catholics of Ireland, disclosing that he knew "more of the secret history, as well as the public, of this business than falls to the share of many." While refusing the gift tendered him by the Catholic Association he, nevertheless, commended the collection of a fund and suggested that it be applied toward schools for their youth in Ireland when the day came that the Parliament of Ireland would cease, as he said, "condemning a million and a half of people to ignorance, according to act of Parliament."[30] Burke revealed himself happy over the passage of the bill of 1778 because it not only removed some injustices but might prove to be the first step toward making Ireland into a real nation which would fit happily into the framework of the British Empire. As he told Speaker Pery, "you are now beginning to have a country."[31] and to his cousin, Garret Nagle, he predicted that the relief bill contained a principle "which in time will extend further."[32]

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[27] *Ibid.*, II, 236 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, II, 237 f.

[29] *Ibid.*, II, 281 f. and 290.

[30] *Ibid.*, II, 291-295.

But it is a letter to an unknown person in Ireland which summed up his happy thoughts on the successful termination of this first step for the Catholics. He felt, he said, "a sensible Joy on the occasion" for even "if nothing further should be done, a great deal is accomplished. You have, for the first time, got the Government of the country to acknowledge & protect all its Subjects." A real gain had been made, but prudence dictated that it would be foolish to hasten on the next improvement. Some time must elapse. This being so, he stressed his joy over what had been accomplished and cautiously hoped for better days to come: "You have indeed made Ireland doubly dear to me by your excellent Bill. You have made those who were Countrymen, become fellow Citizens; Before this, they were only the worse for the accident of a Common birthplace. But they begin to coalesce; & I trust that you will live to see & enjoy the good you have done, in the total extinction of all Spirit of party which has religious opinions for its principle."[33] He himself was prepared whenever things were "ripe for any judicial steps to be taken" to assist the Catholics since "[my] principles will always lead me to take a very active part in promoting your ease & happiness & not the less active because I can never have any private Interest in it."[34]

The amelioration of the position of the Catholics of England, followed so swiftly by a similar improvement of their lot for the Catholics of Ireland in 1778, suggested that the same be done in Scotland. Owing to the lateness of the session of Parliament when the idea was broached, it was decided to postpone action on the Scots Catholics until the following session in 1779. The fierce opposition which immediately flared up in Scotland[35] made it inadvisable, however, and the unfortunate Catholics of that country, who were the victims of an organization called the Protestant Association,[36] requested that nothing be done for them beyond the maintenance of the *status quo*. The angry mobs in places like Edinburgh and Glasgow had so endangered the Catholics' lives and property that they were content merely to survive and thus they dropped the idea of seeking improvement for the time being. But as their lot was far from an enviable one, and as the fury of the first outburst had died, the Catholics decided to draw up a petition seeking redress of their grievances. Knowing Edmund Burke's sympathetic attitude toward their position, they asked him to introduce it, and he agreed. When word of this reached James Boswell, he hastened to warn Burke of the inadvisability of such a step. Boswell professed to be attached to the idea of bettering the lot of the Catholics of Scotland, but he told Burke, if any measure so designed passed Parliament, "there would be as desperate a Rebellion against Government as in the days of Charles the Second." He begged him, therefore, for assurance that there was no present intention of disturbing the *status quo* in Scotland.[37] Burke, however, kept his promise to the Scots Catholics and on March 18, 1779, he brought in their petition for relief, a document characterized by its admirable restraint.[38] The petition was ordered laid on the table where it still remained at the end of the session.[39]

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[31] Burke to Pery, August 12, 1778, quoted in William E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1890), IV, 518f.

[32] Burke to Nagle, August 25, 1778, *New Monthly Magazine,* XVI (1826), 156 f.

[33] Burke to unknown, n.d. August, 1778, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. There is good reason to believe that this was written to Luke Gardiner in answer to his letter of August 11 to Burke.

[34] *Correspondence,* II, 296.

[35] For a good account of the riots in Scotland, cf. the *Annual Register, 1780,* pp. 25-33.

The upshot of the business was that Burke had added to his reputation for championing the Catholics of the British Isles greatly to the disgust of a number of people.[40] Among them was Lord George Gordon, a fanatical member of Commons who was described by a contemporary newspaper as a man who made "an everlasting fool of himself on all occasions"[41] and who later proved to be insane. The Protestant Association of England which Lord George headed had originated a short time before in Scotland and had now branched out to include England and Ireland. In the latter country, Lord Kenmare, a Catholic peer, told Burke that "Ld. G. Gordon's Association makes more Noise here, than probably with you."[42] It was a very simple matter for demagogues like Gordon to stir up mobs of the "meaner sort" of people to a pitch of frenzy by pretending to crusade against the supposed diabolical designs of the "papists". And so on June 2, 1780, Gordon presented a petition of the Protestant Asociation of England calling for the repeal of the recent Catholic Relief Act. Fourteen reasons were included to show why the repeal should be enacted,[43] and there were purportedly 120,000 signatures. But great numbers had made their marks, a circumstance which caused Charles Fox to remark wryly upon the incongruity of people who themselves could neither read nor write becoming alarmed because Roman Catholics could do so.[44]

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[36] For Burke's strong and undisguised hatred for this organization, cf. his letters to Patrick Bowie and the Reverend John Erskine, *Correspondence,* II, 255-261; 268-274. Both of these gentlemen wrote Burke a good many letters on the subject of Scotland and Catholicism as did the Reverend Dr. George Campbell. On the Catholic side, Bishop George Hay of Edinburgh frequently corresponded with him. Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[37] Boswell to Burke, February 22, 1779, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[38] *Parliamentary History,* XX (1778-1780), 322 ff.

[39] One newspaper correspondent wrote about this time that "Popery" was fatal to government and that "no Country whatsoever (except a Popish one) ought to tolerate Popery." *St. James' Chronicle,* April 6-8, 1780.

[40] "A Philanthropist" from Edinburgh volunteered the information to Burke that the Scots Protestants were convinced that Burke was "a staunch Roman." April 10, 1779, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

What then ensued is a story too well known to bear repeating here—the Gordon Riots. The part played by Burke in this unhappy incident is also a familiar one. Suffice to say that he risked his life on more than one occasion while confronting the mob and that his conduct in the House of Commons also did him great credit. Not only did he adhere to his positon consistently but by his efforts he brought about the defeat of a pusillanimous measure introduced by Sir George Savile to "secure the Protestant religion." This measure he correctly characterized as a sop to Lord George Gordon's intolerant organization. In one of his speeches Burke said that he had received his education as a Protestant belonging to the Established Church at the hands of a dissenter and had later read all the theological publications on every side which had been written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (a rather awesome and obviously exaggerated statement). This exercise led him to conclude (rather understandably) that such studies tended merely to confuse and so he had elected to cling fast to the Established Church.[45] In another speech[46] against Savile's bill whose purpose was to restrain "Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, from teaching, or taking upon themselves the education or government of the children of Protestants," Burke regretted the lack of a single Catholic seminary in England. This was a serious mater, he said, because it meant that Catholics who intended to become clergymen had to seek their training in France, Flanders, or Spain. To Burke, the first of the great English statesmen to manifest an enlightened spirit of nationalism, this was a deplorable situation.[47] With peace and order finally restored in London, there remained the matter of punishment of the poor wretches apprehended during the rioting. Originally, Burke had been determined that the guilty should be severely punished,[48] but when the time came, his deep Christian spirit of charity dictated that he argue for leniency. Due in no inconsiderable measure to his arguments, the number executed was small considering the great loss of lives produced by the tumults.

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[41] *Daily Universal Register,* June 23, 1785.

[42] Kenmare to Burke, February 18, 1780, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[43] *Lloyd's Evening Post,* May 19-22, 1780.

[44] *Parliamentary History,* XXI (1780-1781), 706.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 710.

His enlightened views on toleration coupled with other matters now served to jeopardize his seat at Bristol. One of the charges levied against him there when he sought re-election was his reputed strong bias for Catholicism. He knew that he faced a highy critical audience on this subject,[49] yet he defended himself strongly[50] and sought to show the expediency of Catholic relief in view of the tense international situation then confronting Britain. But putting aside thoughts of danger to the state, he supported Catholic relief on the grounds of justice, policy, and feeling and went on to say without reservation that what had been done should be considered only as a modest beginning and not an end of relief for the Catholics. Moreover, he also lectured his electors by telling them that the relief which had been granted had not been the product of haste. On the contrary, Parliament had been guilty of almost a century of procrastination. The futility of calling the Catholics enemies of the British constitution should be obvious, he claimed, since they could not be disloyal to something from which they were excluded.

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[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 718 ff.

[47] Cf. Afred Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1929), chapter IV.

[48] Earl Bathurst to Burke, June 15, 1780, Burke Papers, Sheffield, reveals that Burke was so determined at that point.

[49] Bristol had nearly emulated London's example in the recent Gordon Riots, and the corporation had spent £85 12s. 5d. in "sundry expenses on account of a threatened and expected riot," Ernest Barker, *Burke and Bristol* (Bristol, 1931), p. 92. An actual attempt to start an anti-Catholic riot there had been checked by a group of leading citizens. *Courier de l'Europe, 23 Juin,* 1780. Moreover, ever since his election in 1774, the rumor that he was a disguised Jesuit educated at St. Omer had been kept in circulation. G. E. Weare, *Edmund Burke's Connection with Bristol, From 1774 to 1780* (Bristol, 1894), p. 153.

[50] *Writings,* II, 367-423.

In concluding his speech Burke pointed out that the charges made against him in Bristol were in reality all of a kind—that he had "pushed the principles of justice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me." He was largely correct in his assertion that the opposition was based on grounds which constituted in reality a compliment to him. He did not stand accused of dishonesty or incompetence but, in effect, he had been charged with having been too just and decent in his parliamentary endeavors. Nevertheless, prejudice and self-interest were triumphant, and Burke was deprived of his cherished Bristol seat, a connection he had earlier described as "the greatest honour of my life".[51] Lord Rockingham's offer to make him the representative of the pocket borough of Malton in Yorkshire was accepted, and for the rest of his long parliamentary career he continued to represent this constituency.

In 1782 a bill for additional Catholic relief was introduced in the Irish Commons by Luke Gardiner, sponsor of the 1778 measure. While it was still in the projected stage, Lord Kenmare, then leader of the Catholic Association of Ireland, wrote Burke about it.[52] The latter's reply [53] must rank high among the best of his writings.[54] Burke bluntly described the proposal as one which was "grounded at once on contempt and jealousy" and was, he said "neither more nor less than a renewed act of UNIVERSAL, UNMITIGATED, IN-

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[51] *Lloyd's Evening Post,* January 5-8, 1780.

[52] Kenmare to Burke, February 4, 1782, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[53] *Writings,* IV, 217-240. Thirteen years later in a letter to the Reverend Dr. Thomas Hussey, his Irish Catholic friend, Burke said that the opinions he expressed were his "fixed sentiments" as he had expressed them in his letter to Lord Kenmare, February 21, 1782. That letter had been published, and anyone could see what his views were. Time had strengthened rather than weakened them. *Correspondence,* IV, 229 f.

[54] Prior, *Burke,* p. 210, says that Burke was so busy at this time that the reply to Kenmare had to be dictated at dinner, while dressing, and even while carrying on conversations.

DISPENSABLE, EXCEPTIONLESS, DISQUALIFICATION." He criticized the universal exclusion of the Catholics from every office of trust and profit and attacked their exclusion from the franchise. Even worse, he maintained, were the laws against foreign education since not only Catholic laymen were affected but a matter of a succession to "about four thousand clergymen". The proposal of Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, that a few sizarships for the education of Catholic clergymen be made available there[55] was derided by Burke who pointed out that a Catholic priest could only be trained in a seminary where such matters as celibacy and confession were respected, not ridiculed. But his reasoning in this matter, he sadly observed, would have no effect on those whose objective was to make the Catholic clergy illiterate. He was likewise opposed to the scheme of Dublin Castle under which the Catholic hierarchy would be chosen by the government. It ought to be patent, said Burke, that the adherents of one religious belief were never competent to appoint the pastors of another.

Burke conceded that there was some good in the proposed act, but to his mind its laudable features were far outweighed by its defects. He thought that it would be better to improve the civic position of the Catholics first because religious advantages would follow as a matter of course. He then revealed an opinion which he strongly maintained for the rest of his life, viz., that he did not believe that it was a spirit of religious bigotry that was responsible for the maintenance of the anti-Catholic laws. The blame should be put rather upon pride, arrogance, and a spirit of absolute authority. He maintained that he could cite instances of men who oppressed the Catholics in their civil rights who at the same time were very indulgent with them in religious matters. There were even cases he could name of men who could become Catholics if it meant that the power of persecution would then be theirs. In his opinion it was "injustice, and not a mistaken conscience" which accounted for persecution.

Despite his deep knowledge of and sympathy for Catholicism, Burker was, of course, guilty here of a misinterpretation of Catholic teaching in this letter to Kenmare. He was too much the practical statesman to grasp that to the Catholic the free exercise of his religion came first. Other than this mistake, natural enough for a non-

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[55] *Irish Parliamentary Debates,* I (1781-1782), 309 f.

Catholic to make, Burke deserved the commendation of all Catholics of spirit in Ireland for his virile attack on the list of proscriptions which would still bind them after this act of "toleration" passed. His attitude was in sharp contrast to the manner in which Lord Kenmare and most of the other Catholic leaders then conducted themselves. Burke had correctly sensed their timidity, and in later years it continued to be a source of considerable annoyance to him. Not only were the lay leaders on the whole a weak group but, what was worse, the Irish Catholic hierarchy was virtually grovelling in its attitude toward the government. At any rate, Gardiner's bill was once again successful. While there are simple grounds for criticizing the measure, it was at least a modest step forward. That Burke's letter had been productive of good in the Catholic cause may be seen from the fact that Kenmare told him that he had shown Burke's letter on the proposed legislation to such important people as William Eden, Henry Grattan, and Gardiner himself. The result, said Kenmare, was that "it stop't their proceding on a Crude & ill digested plan for the Home Education of our Clergy." To which His Lordship added "we, the dirtiest part of this Community owe principally to you our Enfranchisement . . . "[56]

In the half dozen or so years which followed the new Catholic relief act in Ireland, Burke's reputation had begun to fade badly in England and he became increasingly irritable even with his intimate friends. The outbreak of the French Revolution, however, rescued him from the oblivion to which he seemed destined. The revolution brought him a lofty reputation and new-found importance as a result of his almost single-handed battle to warn England in particular and the rest of the world in general of the dangers to the established order which this great upheaval embodied. The reaction to his *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* which was published in November, 1790, was astonishing. His views are too well known to detain us here, but what is arresting is that his faded reputation had been quickly and impressively rejuvenated. One of the first fruits of his return to a position of honor and esteem was his election to the Royal Academy of Ireland as its sole honorary member. Replying to the Earl of Charlemont to express his appreciation, Burke told him that he considered Ireland vital to the safety and tranquility of England.[57] And to guarantee this Burke felt that improvement of the status of the Catholics of Ireland was mandatory.

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[56] Kenmare to Burke, March 14, 1782, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

In Ireland the Catholic Association, an organization which had experienced a rather checkered career since it was founded in 1759, was now headed by a wealthy silk mercer, John Keogh,[58] who was ambitious enough to hope that Burke's services in the Catholic cause might be continued at least indirectly. The way to do it would be through Burke's only son, Richard Burke, Jr., to whom the Catholic Association now made an attractive offer of the post of agent. Richard gladly accepted the positon, and his father gave his full approval. A year elapsed before young Burke took up his duties owing to the pre-occupation of both Burkes with matters stemming out of the revolution in France. As the committee soon discovered, Richard had not inherited his father's talents. Yet he seems to have had considerably more character and ability than he has generally been credited with possessing. Too many people remember only Wolfe Tone's acid comments about him or Lord Morley's unflattering pen portrait. In his efforts on behalf of the Catholics, Richard was liberally advised by his father as the committee had anticipated. As Burke himself put it, his mind was very much on Richard and his business.[59] The bettering of the lot of the Catholics was a matter in which he was doubly anxious—on its own account and because of Richard's connection with it. He hoped his son would succeed in this undertaking which he himself "broke off in the middle and 'left half told—the story of Cambuscan bold'." Richard was to be the Spenser who would bring the story to a happy conclusion.[60]

As an aid to the cause his son was now promoting, Burke wrote a long letter[61] to Sir Hercules Langrishe, a member of the Irish House of Commons, which was designed to dispel some of the ignorance on the subject of the Catholics so prevalent among Irish Protestants. Burke demonstrated the patent unfairness with which the authorities always construed revolts of the Irish people (to Burke, the Catholics because of their numbers) to be conspiracies against the state even when it was clear that the causes were usually economic and not political or religious. He showed also that the king would not be perjured as far as his coronation oath was concerned were he to assent to the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics. He likewise pointed out that the disabilities of the Catholics were in violation of Magna Carta since they were deprived of all their liberties and "all their free customs." And, if anything were needed to make the acts against the Irish Catholics worse, it was that they were applied to a people equal in numbers to the population of the entire kingdoms of Scandinavia or Denmark and more numerous than the inhabitants of Switzerland. To his way of thinking, it could never be politic or expedient to proscribe whole nations from the advantages of the government under which they were born.

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[57] *Charlemont MSS.*, II, 126.

[58] Cf. Denis Gwynn, *John Keogh* (Dublin, 1930).

[59] *Correspondence,* III, 426.

[60] *Ibid,* III, 367 ff.

[61] "A letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart., on the Subject of the Roman Catholics of Ireland and the Propriety of Admitting them to the Elective Franchise, consistently with the Principles of the Constitution, as established at the Revolution," *Writings,* IV, 243-306.

If it was fear of the pope which restrained the Irish Protestants from granting their countrymen relief, then they could set it aside because, said Burke, His Holiness was only "a commodious bugbear (who is of infinitely more use to those who pretend to fear him than to those who love him)."[62] He likewise refuted the charge that the mass of the Irish people were rebellious, disorderly, seditious, and easily duped by unscrupulous men and that, because of this, the conservative and wealthy element among them desired no share, either for themselves or for the other Catholics, in the franchise. He then issued a warning that a union between the Catholics and Dissenters was quite possible. Since two-thirds of the Irish were Catholics, and the remaining third was divided between dissenters and the Established Church, he questioned whether a combination of the Catholics and dissenters could be successfully resisted. He further pointed out that, even if the Catholics were placed on the same basis as the forty-shilling freeholders, it was unlikely that a single election would be altered due to the condition of Ireland at the time. He then concluded his argument by showing the reward Britain had received in the continued loyalty of Catholic French Canada since the Roman Catholic Church had been established there conjointly with the Church of England. This gratifying spectacle of loyalty confounded the gratuitous predictions that the pope would reunite Canada with France. Ironically enough, he observed wryly, it had remained instead for the Protestant American colonies to revolt against Great Britain and to make common cause with Catholic France. Despite their fine record, the French Canadian Catholics were neither better men nor better citizens than the Irish Catholics.

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[62] The feeling that the influence of the papacy was dead, however, was widely circulated during the debates over Catholic emancipation in the Irish Commons in both 1792 and 1793. Cf. *Irish Parliamentary Debates,* XII (1792) and XIII (1793), passim.

The Langrishe letter was dated January 3, 1792, and was published sometime in February. That Burke felt he could write an even more effective one may be seen from a letter addressed to his son under date of March 20, 1792. He asked Richard if he would like him to write anything else under his own name in the cause of Richard's clients, and he suggested that, if Richard agreed, he might write "perhaps a much sharper [letter] than what I wrote to Langrishe, and stronger, . . . Here, the formless letter I have written to Langrishe has been of a good deal of service."[63]

Meanwhile, a bill for Catholic relief introduced by Langrishe on January 25 went to Lords a month later and became law. In its final form Catholics were allowed to practice law as either barristers or solicitors; they could marry Protestants; were empowered to open schools without the prior consent of the Protestant bishop; and could now send their children abroad to be educated (something they had long been doing.) To Burke "this bill of Langrishe's is not only no relief, but it is mischievous and insolent, and ought to be declared against, in some way or other, very publicly, and rejected wholly, with decency, but firmness."[64] Badly disappointed with the legislation, Burke was upset because he felt that the county franchise at least might have been given to the Catholics. In the whole episode he had done his best. In addition to the Langrishe letter, he had shown a willingness to write something "sharper" under his name for public consumption; he had advised Richard unstintingly; had secured the reprinting of a respectful disavowal by the Catholics of certain tenets ascribed to them by their enemies; and had done everything in his power in London to help the Catholic cause. These latter efforts in England included an unsatisfactory interview with Dundas to which the Home Secretary had asked him to bring a copy of his letter to Langrishe.[65] One result of the mildness of the Catholic Relief Act was that the Catholic Committee (the new name of the group) decided to drop Richard Burke, Jr., as their exclusive agent. At the end of March he was presented with the handsome sum of 2,000 guineas for his services, and while he was not dismissed, he was given to understand that his work would be limited to representing the committee in England.

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[63] *Correspondence,* III 439 f. Although Burke minimized the letter, Plowden says that it was "of material importance to the history of the progress of Catholic emancipation." Francis Plowden, *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* (London, 1803), II, Part II, 338n.

[64] *Correspondence,* III, 418.

While Richard was still in Ireland, his father wrote him manifesting his strong feelings on the Catholic question. He said that there were few things he wished more than that the Established Churches of England and Ireland should be continued in positions of strength and security in each country. "Much nearer" his heart than even this wish, he confessed to his son, was that "the emancipation of that great body of my original countrymen" should be achieved. He claimed that he had never been able to convince himself that there was anything in "our thirty-nine articles" which was worth making "three millions of people slaves, to secure its teachings at public expense." That man must be a strange Christian and a strange Englishman, he thought, "who would not see Ireland a free, flourishing happy *Catholic* country, though not *one* Protestant existed in it, than an enslaved, beggarded, insulted, degraded Catholic country, as it is, with some Protestants here and there scattered through it, for the purpose, not of instructing the people, but of rendering them miserable."[66] Burke had spoken his innermost thoughts. Should this letter have fallen into other hands, incalcuable harm would have resulted.

Following his return to England, Richard pursued his work as agent of the Catholic Committee of Ireland. But success eluded him, and he went back once more to Ireland where he found that the committee had undergone revamping and that a young Protestant attorney, Theobald Wolfe Tone, had become their agent there. While he was in Ireland, Richard was the recipient of a heavy volume of correspondence from his father, the theme of which was the Catholics of Ireland. At the outset, Burke pointed out to his son an old conviction of his by saying that it was futile for the Catholics to blame England for their plight. Ever since he could remember, it had been a case of the "junto" (the Protestant ascendancy) in Ireland governing the English lord lieutenant who, in turn, by his representations governed the British ministers. Thus, he said, "the whole evil has always originated, and still does originate among ourselves."[67] A view which he was destined to alter somewhat[68] was expressed in some of Burke's letters of this period, viz., that the Irish Catholics refrain from force. He declared that, as a man of "some reflection and much experience," he knew that "the resources of a persevering litigious, dissatisfied obedience" were greater than those of any force, "even if force they had."[69]

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[65] John King, Undersecretary of State for the Home Department, to Burke, February 11, 1792, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[66] *Correspondence,* III, 451-455.

Meanwhile, the Irish Catholics elected by ballot a five-man committee to present a petition of grievances to the king in person, a step which meant that they were going over the heads of Dublin Castle. The petition listed their complaints and requested relief in a most respectful manner.[70] By so acting, the Catholics had adopted the recommendation of Richard Burke and his father, both of whom had long argued for such a move. Four days before the arrival of the delegates in London, Edmund Burke delivered a speech on their behalf in the House of Commons on December 14, 1792. He recommended an acquiescence in the just demands of these people and maintained that to grant them a share in the franchise was not an innovation since they had been oppressively deprived of many of their rights at the outset of the last reign.[71] He also wrote a persuasive essay to Dundas, the Home Secretary, which ably made out the case for readmitting the Catholics to the franchise.[72] Their restoration, he said, would strengthen the state for "a greater number of persons will be interested in conservation." Furthermore, "if the experience of mankind is to be credited, a seasonable extension of rights is the best expedient for the conservation of them. Every right, every privilege, every immunity, every distinction known in the world, and which has been preserved throughout the fluctuations of time and circumstance, has been so preserved." Things have changed. The old system was not designed to endure forever, since "oppression at length exhausts its own resources; the miserable pretexts of avarice, bigotry, and party spirit wear themselves out; the fashion of the time changes; and the great mass of a nation at last recovers something of its natural importance. The very reaction of a destructive policy produces a power of resistance."

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[67] *Ibid,* IV, 28 f. For another example of this belief of Burke's cf. *Burke-Laurence Correspondence,* p. 103.

[68] "Dreadful as it is, but it is now plain that Catholic *defenderism* is the only restraint upon Protestant *ascendency.*" Burke to Dr. Hussey, January 1, 1796, *Correspondence,* IV, 330.

[69] Burke to Richard, September 29, 1792, *Ibid.,* IV, 9-16.

[70] The petition is attached to a pamphlet published by the General Committee (the name the Catholics had now adopted) and entitled *A Vindication of the Conduct and Principles of the Catholics of Ireland* (London, 1793), pp. 78-85.

[71] *Lloyd's Evening Post,* December 14-17, 1792.

[72] *Correspondence,* IV, 65-96.

The interview with the king went off smoothly for the Catholic delegates, and the press of the day carried the news that the Catholics of Ireland were to be admitted to the franchise forthwith. Within a few weeks the Catholic Relief Bill was introduced in the Irish Parliament where it quickly passed both houses and became law within a month. Although admission to Parliament had not been sought at this time, the fact that an amendment for this purpose had been defeated caused many Catholics in Ireland to be disappointed with the measure which did, however, concede the franchise. The result was that little time was lost in rejoicing and plans began to be formulated looking to their readmission to the Irish Parliament.

Meanwhile, Edmund Burke, in a letter to John Coxe Hippisley, an Englishman then residing in Rome, reviewed the Catholic question.[73] He strongly urged that formal diplomatic relations be established between Great Britain and the Papal States and praised the character of Pope Pius VI, the reigning pontiff, highly. He turned to the situation in Ireland, giving expression to many of his strongest convictions in the Catholic situation. For one thing, he stressed the firm attachment of the Catholics, especially the clergy, to the monarchy. Secondly, he pointed out that there had always been an unfair tendency to exaggerate Catholic participation in popular demonstrations without showing that among the lower classes the Catholics formed an overwhelming majority. Thirdly, he expressed his abhorrence of the custom of falsely ascribing to the Catholics the motive of zeal for their religion as the cause of their involvement in popular disorders. He maintained as always that the motivating force was economic.[74] Finally, his propensity for attacking as a palpable falsehood the persistent charge that the Irish Catholics were in league with foreign powers was manifested.

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[73] J. F. Gilson (Ed.) *Correspondence of Edmund Burke & William Windham,* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 64 ff.

Writing to an unnamed correspondent early in 1794,[75] Burke revealed that he was in the grip of despair and said that he was afraid that French principles had already made serious inroads among the common people of Ireland. Lest it be concluded that he was now giving up on the Catholics, it must be noted that this fit of despondency is but an instance of the dejection which so often beset him during the years. But he was suddenly lifted from this feeling by a series of events which, unfortunately, proved short-lived and culminated in the worst and most enduring melancholic seizure of his entire life. Burke's friends among the Whigs joined Pitt in a coalition government, and the closest of them, Earl Fitzwilliam, Rockingham's heir and successor, was picked for the lord lieutenancy of Ireland as soon as a place could be found for the present occupant. Upon Burke's own voluntary retirement from Commons, Fitzwilliam selected Richard Burke to take his father's vacated seat a Malton. Moreover, Fitzwilliam offered to make Richard his chief secretary when he went to Ireland as viceroy. Finally, Burke himself had been notified that he was to be rewarded with both a pension and a peerage (for which he had already chosen the name of Beaconsfield).

Then tragedy struck and dashed Burke's hopes at one blow. Although he survived the sudden death of his son, his grief was almost unendurable and he was never again quite the same man.

If any single thing, other than his grief and his unrelenting anti-Jacobin crusade, served to occupy Burke's mind for the time of life remaining to him it was final Catholic emancipation in Ireland. In the last letter made public during his lifetime, he told his correspondent that it was true that his late son was very much concerned over the conclusion of "a business [Catholic emancipation] which he also had pursued for a long time with infinite zeal, and no small degree of success." Only a half an hour before he expired, he said, Richard had spoken "with considerable earnestness on this very subject." This alone, were any inspiration needed, would have called forth Burke's greatest energies in an effort to free "the body of my country from the grievances under which they labour." [76]

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[74] E.g., "Alas! It is not about popes but about potatoes, that the minds of this unhappy people are agitated." *Writings,* VI, 399.

[75] Burke to unknown, January 15, 1794, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

Just when it seemed as if the dreams of Burke were to be realized when Fitzwilliam went to Ireland in January, 1795, and lost no time in attempting to secure for the Catholics their emancipation, once again a cruel fate intervened. The recall of Fitzwilliam so shortly after his viceroyship had begun and the defeat of the bill for Catholic emancipation caused Burke to observe to Sir Hercules Langrishe that:

> . . . My sanguine hopes are blasted, and I must consign my feelings on that terrific disappointment to the same patience in which I have been obliged to bury the vexation I suffered on the defeat of the other great, just, and honourable causes in which I have had some share, and which have given more of dignity than of peace and advantage to a long, laborious life.[77]

In the brief time left to him Edmund Burke continued to help Catholics in whatever way he could. Emigré clergy were always welcome at his home, Gregories; and with the help of friends he founded a school for the children of French refugees at Penn, a few miles from his home, and through his efforts a suitable Catholic chaplain was found for the students. He likewise assisted with the gift of books for the library and considerable advice to the rector of Saint Patrick's College, the new Catholic seminary at Maynooth in Ireland, which was opened as a substitute for emancipation. He also took up the fight to put an end to the whipping of Catholic soldiers who refused to attend Protestant services in Ireland. In short, his efforts were many and varied. They ceased only with death in 1797.

The foregoing has been offered to demonstrate that Edmund Burke was ever warmly attached to Roman Catholicism. So plain was this that a contemporary, the Earl of Charlemont, once observed that Burke's mind had acquired "an almost constitutional bent toward the Popish party." [78] A century later it was erroneously claimed that his most intimate friends were Catholics and that this was true even more at the end of his life than at the beginning.[79] Certainly for one who was not a Catholic Burke's knowledge of the faith was extremely thorough and it profoundly influenced him. It was this knowledge coupled with his sincerity which enabled him to argue so ably for the Catholics of Ireland through the years. Possessed of a mind that instinctly loved and fully appreciated truth, he strongly felt both the injustice and the inexpediency of the treatment meted out to the Catholics of Ireland. In his work of helping them, his mind exhibited so many striking similarities with Catholic thought and teaching that it is no wonder that he was so often accused of secretly being a Catholic.[80]

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[76] *Writings,* VI, 415-429. [77] *Loc. cit.,* pp. 378 f. [78] *Charlemont MSS.,* I, 149.

[79] J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1874), III, 24.

Despite his familiarity with Catholicism and its obvious influence over him, it is well to emphasize that Burke was not a Catholic,[81] and many times declared that he preferred Protestantism as exemplified by the Church of England to any other religion. His strong nationalism played an important part here, of course. But he felt that without Catholicism, no Protestant sect could survive. This he unhesitatingly asserted both publicly and privately.[82] He held that the church of his choice possessed the greater part of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion and from this belief he derived consolation together with the knowledge that it had once been in communion with Rome. With the Catholic clergy in particular he had several close ties, chief among which was his friendship with the Reverend Doctor Thomas Hussey, who became Bishop of Waterford. Burke enjoyed an intimate and lengthy correspondence with this distinguished priest, who was the first president of Maynooth.[83] His generosity to the emigré clergy has already been noted.[84] Indeed, he has been accused of an undue bias for sacerdotalism,[85] but his liking was induced by respect and did not assume the proportions of a bias.

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[80] Because of the persistence of this popular belief, it was necessary for the writer of the beautiful elegy on his passing to stress his unwavering attachment to the Protestant religion in the form of the Church of England. E.g., London *Chronicle,* July 8-11, 1797; *Morning Chronicle,* July 10, 1797; and *Lloyd's Evening Post,* July 10-12, 1797.

[81] It is claimed in an obscure and short-lived journal, *the Irish Magazine and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography,* I (March, 1808), 108, that contrary to popular belief Burke died a Catholic. The testimony of those present makes it abundantly clear that this was not so.

[82] E.g., "Burke's Table-Talk," *op. cit.,* VII, 8.

[83] Burke was in the habit of frequently going in secret to the Spanish ambassador's chapel to hear Hussey deliver sermons when the latter was in London. James B. Robertson, *Lectures on the Life, Writings, and Times of Edmund Burke* (London, 1869), p. 358.

[84] He once flaunted public opinion by introducing two French priests into the House of Commons and seeking permission from the Speaker to allow them to

He was always positive in his assertions against the tiresome charge that England had something to fear from the pope and he made light of those who charged that the Catholics owed a temporal allegiance to the pontiff which took precedence over that of their own land. For the person of Pope Pius VI, who occupied the Chair of St. Peter from 1775 to 1799, Burke had great reverence, and he was signally honored with an autograph letter from His Holiness—at that time a rare distinction for a non-Catholic—praising his work on behalf of the Catholics of England and Ireland and his kindness to the refugee French clergy.[86] In 1793 he advocated the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Papal States, and he contended that failure to do so would be bigotry on the part of Britain, adding that much good and no harm would result from such relations. Despite this, it must be noted that he was far from enamored of the temporal government of the papacy.[87]

In his last years Burke came to liken the Catholic Church in Ireland to the original apostolic model, although he thought that some improvements were needed to make the analogy more perfect.[88] Its constitution, discipline, doctrines, and lack of wealth possessed an appeal for him which he did not seek to hide. His own deference to authority, tradition, and prescription made the cause of the Irish Catholics dear to his heart.[89] On the sound basis of his intimate knowledge of their religion, together with his respect and admiration for so much of it, Burke was well qualified to undertake the task of ameliorating the lot of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland. On behalf of the former group he had played an important part in

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sit under the gallery. The abuse he heaped upon this dignitary for his refusal was violent. *Lloyd's Evening Post,* May 15-17, 1793.

[85] William E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1893), III, 364.

[86] For his great esteem, both for the Pope's personal character and his office as well, which, if common knowledge, would have ruined Burke, cf. H. V. F. Somerset "Edmund Burke, England, and the Papacy," *Dublin Review,* CCII (January, 1938), 138-148.

[87] Cf. letter to Mr. Mayer, post May 8, 1791, Burke Papers, Sheffield.

[88] *Correspondence,* IV, 284.

[89] *Dublin Review,* XXXV (March, 1853), 86.

their improved status by the time of his death; in the case of the latter, despite his pessimistic feeling at his death that he had failed, happily he was wrong. He had done much to make Ireland a land where Protestant and Catholic would one day be fellow-citizens. Some of his efforts had borne fruit during his lifetime, and many of his arguments were destined to be employed effectively in the long struggle of the years to come.

Why, it has often been asked, if Burke were such a friend of the Irish Catholics did he never encourage them to take up arms for their cause, a failure which leaves him seemingly open to the charge of inconsistency? The argument runs that he did not dare to advise this extreme course, even though he was a staunch defender of the Glorious Revolution and had certainly made it clear that his sympathies were with the Americans in this revolutionary struggle, because to do so would ruin him in England. The answer is that Burke, as he often demonstrated, knew that the Irish would face overwhelming defeat in his day were they to resort to arms. Thus, he always refrained from recommending, or even approving, recourse to rebellion in Ireland for reasons of expediency and, too, because he simply did not wish to see Ireland break away from the British Empire. He did reluctantly concede that "Catholic *defenderism* is the only restraint upon Protestant ascendancy," but beyond that he refused to go. As he told Dr. Hussey at the end of 1796 it was unquestionably right to teach a species of passive obedience, but to advocate rebellion was to deceive the people. What he advocated long in advance of its acceptance by peoples anxious to win their independence was passive resistance. As Harold Laski pointed out, Burke was an "apostle of order" and "had too much the sense of a Divine Providence taking thought for the welfare of men to interfere with violence in his handiwork. The tinge of caution is never absent, even from his most liberal moments; and he was willing to endure evil if it seemed dangerous to estimate the cost of change." [90]

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[90] Harold J. Laski, *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham* (New York, 1920), p. 228.

THE FRENCH IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

By

MASON WADE*

American writers have tended to call the Seven Years' War, which in fact lasted nine years in America, the French and Indian War, thus making it but one episode in a long series of half-forgotten conflicts between the American colonies of France and England. In the traditional account the French are the villains of the piece, ruthlessly setting the Indians upon defenseless American colonists or upon British regulars who found that wilderness warfare was neither magnificent nor war as they had known it. George Bancroft, the first great American historian, saw this conflict as the first epoch of the American Revolution, as a revolt against the European colonial system which paved the way for the War of Independence. Francis Parkman, who devoted his life to chronicling the struggle between France and England for North America, saw it as the culminating episode of that struggle. For him it settled the question of whether France should remain in America, setting a barrier to the expansion of the English from the Atlantic seaboard, preventing a revolt of the English colonies because they would require the mother country's help, and thus putting off for a long time any prospect of American independence. Instead, as he put it:

> The Seven Years' War made England what she is. It crippled the commerce of her rival, ruined France in two continents, and blighted her as a colonial power. It gave England the control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India, made her the first of commercial nations, and prepared that vast colonial system that has planted new

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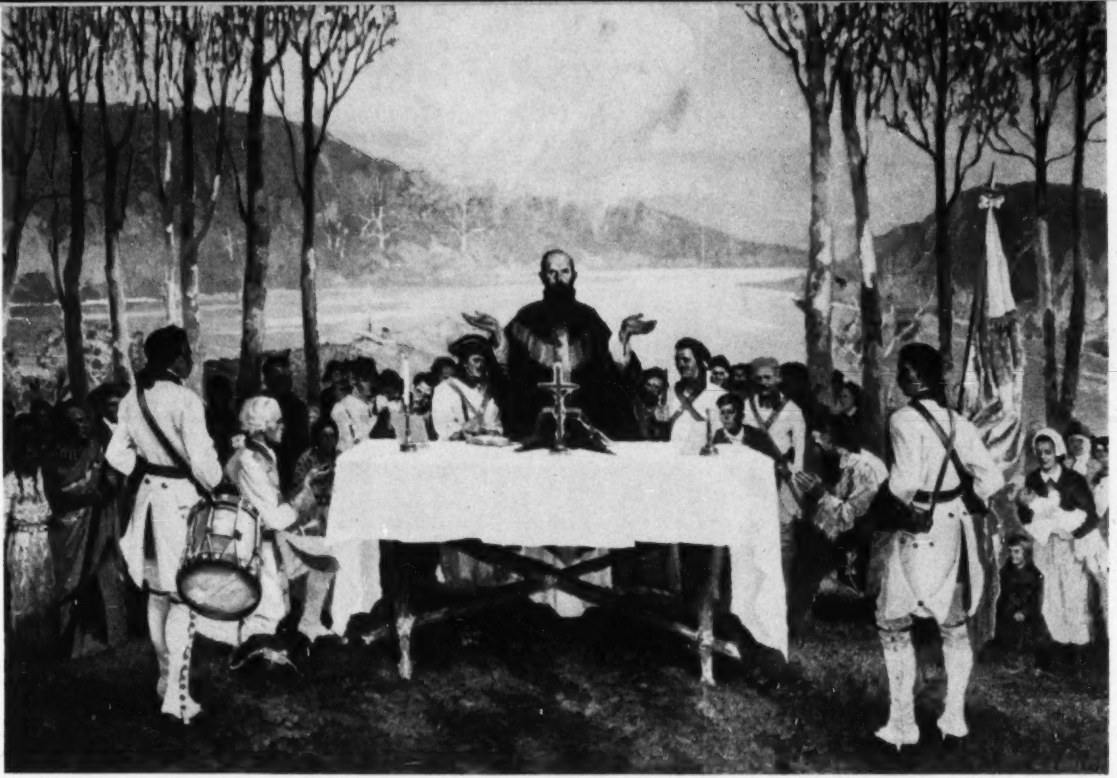
* In its original form this article was read as a paper inaugurating the annual Andrew Arnold Lambing Lecture of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. It was given in Synod Hall of Saint Paul's Cathedral, April 21, 1955. The lecture memorializing Monsignor Lambing (1842-1918) also commemorated the 201st anniversary of the offering of Mass on the site of the Chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the Beautiful River, Fort Duquesne, April 17, 1754. It was the first Mass in what is now the city of Pittsburgh. Mr. Wade is director of the Canadian Studies Program and associate professor of history in the University of Rochester.



Painting of the first act of public Christian worship in the City of Pittsburgh. Mass was offered by Denys Baron, a Recollect, on the site of the Chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on Beautiful River (Ohio) of Fort Duquesne on April 17, 1754.

Sketch and research for the Painting was done by George Sotter (1879-1953). A charcoal enlargement from the sketch by Forrest Crooks. The Painting was completed by Charles Hargens in 1954.

The Painting was presented to the Diocese of Pittsburgh at a Convocation on the occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Mass. The Painting hangs in the Chancery Building on the site of the Chapel of Fort Duquesne.

> Englands in every quarter of the globe. And while it made England what she is, it supplied to the United States the indispensable condition of their greatness, if not of their national existence.[1]

To Lawrence Henry Gipson, who has recently made a still more exhaustive and far-reaching study of the conflict:

> The war was destined to have the most momentous consequences to the American people of any war in which they have been engaged down to our own day—consequences therefore even more momentous than those that flowed from the victorious Revolutionary War or from the Civil War . . . . It was to determine . . . . whether Americans were to be securely confined, as are the people of Chile today, to a long but narrow ribbon of territory lying between the coastline and a not too distant mountain chain, and whether their rivals, the French—then considered to be the greatest military power of the world and in control of the Appalachians—were to remain a permanent and effective barrier to any enjoyment of the vast western interior of the continent.[2]

Since the issues of this conflict were so great, it is clearly worth discussing. And since both Bancroft and Parkman tended to view colonial history as a struggle between the forces of light and darkness, between progressive Protestant Britain and reactionary Catholic France, while Gipson suffers from British imperialist bias, I propose to look at the Anglo-French conflict in western Pennsylvania through French eyes. I hope to avoid vainly winnowing old straw by relying largely on French materials published by the archives of the Seminary of Quebec.[3] Since Donald H. Kent, associate state historian of Pennsylvania, has published a study of *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753*[4], using these same materials which he helped to make available, I shall devote most of my attention to the crucial events of 1754 and 1755, although it will be necessary to sketch the background and tell the end of the story.

Although New England and New France had already been in conflict for half a century, and Carolina and Louisiana for nearly as long, the French and English did not begin to contend for control of the Ohio Country until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century. By the Ohio Country, which the French called the "Belle Rivière", both meant the region south of Lake Erie, between the Miami River and the Alleghanies. Both had long laid claim to this region, but neither had done much to make good its claim. The French case was based upon La Salle's expedition of 1679, when he supposedly discovered the Ohio, and upon Longueuil's expedition to the Mississippi by way of the Ohio in 1739, when he took possession of the whole Ohio Valley for France. From this time on, the importance of the upper Ohio as a line of communications between Canada and Louisiana was well appreciated by the French, though in fact they continued to rely upon the Maumee, Wabash, and Chicago portages to reach their Illinois and Mississippi settlements. The French held that the Alleghanies marked the western limits of the English colonies.[5] The English claim to the Ohio was based upon Article XV of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which recognized the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain. Since the Iroquois claimed lordship over the Ohio tribes by right of conquest, the Ohio Country was to be considered British territory. In addition to this rather tenuous title, both Pennsylvania and Virginia had conflicting claims to the Ohio country under their sweeping seventeenth-century royal charters, whose western limits had never been defined; and in 1749 an overlapping royal grant to the Ohio Company still further confused the question.

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[1] Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1884), I, 3-4.

[2] *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (New York, 1946), VI, 10-11.

[3] F. Grenier (Ed.), *Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents concernant le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756* (Québec, 1952).

[4] *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753* (Harrisburg, 1954).

As far as possession went, the French had long tapped the fur trade of the Ohio from their posts at Niagara (1678), Detroit (1701), and Fort Miami on the Maumee (1715). Though lawless *coureurs de bois* had roamed the region, the French had made no settlements east of the Miami River along the upper Ohio and the Alleghany, which they considered part of the Ohio River. In fact, the region was a hunting ground, frequented by the Iroquois and southern Indians as well as the Miami, Delawares, and Shawnees who dwelt there. During the first half of the eighteenth century English traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia moved westward across the Alleghanies and broke into the French monopoly of the fur trade of the Ohio. Using packhorse trains as the French had

[5] Theodore C. Pease (Ed.), *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763* [Illinois Historical Collections, XXVII] (Springfield, 1936), pp. xliii-xliv.

used the birchbark canoe, they gradually acquired a considerable share of the trade, thanks to their cheaper and more plentiful goods. They became dominant in the region during King George's War (1744-1748) when the French were unable to supply their western posts, and they even threatened French control of the Great Lakes trade. George Croghan, Conrad Weiser, and other English traders in the Ohio country supported Chief Nicholas of the Sandusky Hurons in a great conspiracy to destroy all the French posts on the lakes in 1747. Thanks to the timely reinforcement of Detroit, the plan miscarried. Nicholas was forced to flee to the Ohio, while his ally, the Miami chief called "La Demoiselle" by the French and "Old Briton" by the English, left Fort Miami for Pickawillany on the Miami, which along with Logstown on the Ohio became a center of English influence.

The French had long been conscious of this English threat to the fur trade, which was the economic lifeblood of New France. In September, 1748, the far-sighted Governor-General La Galissonnière warned the Minister of Marine and Colonies of the danger of the English seizing the Illinois, as the French called the region between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi:

> Of all the countries in our occupation, this is the one which they invade the most easily with the smallest force; and could they once succeed in thus intruding themselves between our two colonies [Canada and Louisiana], the loss of the Mississippi and the ruin of the internal trade of Canada would be assured, and the Spanish colonies, and even Mexico, be in very great danger.[6]

Despite the heavy cost of both colonies, at which Versailles had long grumbled, La Galissonière argued that France must hold fast to both Canada and Louisiana, and must defend the line of communications between them, lest the English become the masters of all North America. In a council with the Iroquois at Quebec in November of the same year, the governor induced them to deny that they were English subjects, and that they had ceded their lands to the English. The Iroquois protested their desire to live at peace with both French and English, trading with both.[7] Having thus disposed of the question of English title to the Ohio, where he had learned that the newly organized Ohio Company was thinking of establishing a fort, the governor decided to reassert the French claim to the region.

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[6] Edmund B. O'Callaghan (Ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1858), X, 136, Galissonnière-Maurepas, September 1, 1748. Hereafter this work will be cited as: *New York Colonial Documents.*

This he did in June, 1749, by sending to the Ohio Céloron de Blainville with a force of 214 Frenchmen and Canadians and some thirty Christian Iroquois and Abenakis from the missions on the St. Lawrence. The Jesuit mathematician, Father Bonnecamps, served as chaplain and secretary to the expedition, while Philippe-Thomas Joncaire, the son of the French agent among the Senecas, acted as interpreter. The expedition followed Longueuil's route of 1739 from Lake Erie to the Alleghany by way of the Lake Chautauqua portage. Reaching this headwater of the Ohio at the site of Warren, Pennsylvania, on July 29, six weeks after leaving Montreal, Céloron solemnly took renewed possession of the Ohio, of all rivers which flowed into it, and of all territory on both sides of it as far as the sources of these rivers. This was done in the traditional French fashion by proclaiming the sovereignty of Louis XV, displaying the king's arms, and burying a lead plate inscribed with a record of the act.[8] This ceremony was repeated in several places as they continued down the Alleghany and the Ohio. Along the way Joncaire sought to win the confidence of the Indians, but they tended to flee at the approach of the French. Céloron concluded his report on the expedition by observing: "All that I can say is that the tribes of these localities are very badly disposed towards the French and entirely devoted to the English."[9] The French encountered many English traders, whom they warned off as trespassers on French territory. At Logstown, the great trading center of the Ohio about eighteen miles below Pittsburgh, Céloron told an assembly of chiefs that the English would rob them of their country unless driven away. But here as elsewhere the Indians had become dependent upon the cheap, good, and plentiful English trade-goods, and upon English blacksmiths who mended their guns and tomahawks. At the mouth of the Great Miami Céloron buried the last of his lead plates, and then followed this stream north to Pickawillany, where he sought to persuade La Demoiselle to return to the French at Fort Miami. La Demoiselle accepted Céloron's presents, but failed to follow his advice. The latter then returned to Montreal by way of Fort Miami and Detroit.

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[7] *Ibid.*, X, 187, Conference between La Galissonnière and the Iroquois, November 2, 1748.

[8] *Ibid.*, X, 189, Minute of the taking possession of the Ohio, July 29, 1749.

[9] Charles B. Galbreath (Ed.), *Expedition of Céloron to the Ohio Country in 1749* (Columbus, 1921), p. 57.

When he reached Quebec he found that La Galissonnière had already recommended to the new governor, the Marquis de la Jonquière, the establishment of one or more trading posts on the headwaters of the Ohio. Otherwise, La Jonquière noted, "The English would undoubtedly locate there, and through this would be in a position to penetrate to all our trading posts and cut the communication with Louisiana."[10] Céloron himself thought that "a solid establishment there would be useful to the colony, but there are many inconveniences in maintaining it by reason of the difficulties of transporting food supplies and suitable goods."[11] These considerations were in fact to prove vital in future French operations in the Ohio Valley.

Céloron's expedition did not check English expansion in the region or the rebellion of Indians who had long been under French influence. Though La Demoiselle, with George Croghan's support, busied himself in organizing a new conspiracy among the Miamis and Shawnees in 1750, the French did little to retaliate beyond raiding hostile Indian villages and capturing a few English traders. Thanks to shortage of manpower and supplies in Canada and to the fear of starting a general Indian war, the plan of a punitive expedition to the Ohio was abandoned in favor of sending Philippe-Thomas de Joncaire in June, 1750, to treat with the Indians. He was to persuade those Iroquois who had moved into the Ohio Country to return to their ancestral home in western New York, and he was also to establish a French trading post at Logstown, in order to stop the Indians from going to trade with the English. In the following two years a number of French traders were licensed for the first time to trade in the Ohio Country, though there had been an earlier contraband traffic.[12] But Joncaire made little headway with his mission. The

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[10] S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent (Eds.), *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1941), pp. 26-27, La Jonquière-Minister, September 30, 1749.

[11] Galbreath, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[12] *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, 1930-1931* (Québec, 1932), pp. 353-453, Repertoire des engagements pour l'ouest.

Iroquois, with whom he conferred on his way to the Ohio, were not enthusiastic about his mission, and reported it to William Johnson, the English Iroquois agent. They also brought to Johnson one of Céloron's lead plates to decipher. Johnson warned them that the French claimed all their lands and their best hunting grounds, and sought to cut them off from the English traders, "who can always supply you with the necessarys of Life, at a much lower rate than the French ever did, or could, & under whose Protection you are, & ever will be safer and better served in every respect, than under the French." [13] But it was already too late to turn "Jean Cour" away from the Ohio, as Johnson urged. The French agent made his way slowly to Logstown, and there in May, 1751, he encountered George Croghan, who had just arrived with a group of Pennsylvania traders and £700 worth of presents from the Pennsylvania Assembly. The Indians rejected Joncaire's plea to turn away the English traders, and instead told him to go home, denying any French right to the Ohio.[14] Outnumbered and unable to match the English presents and trade goods, Joncaire had to retire to La Paille Coupée on the upper Alleghany near Warren.

Despite the assurance given La Jonquière by the Iroquois at a council in July, 1751, that they would neither settle on the Ohio nor permit the English or other Indians to do so,[15] Joncaire was still trying to stem the rising tide of English influence there in the spring of 1752. He feared both an Indian revolt headed by La Demoiselle, and the establishment of a fort at the forks of the Ohio by the Virginians of the Ohio Company, for whom Christopher Gist had explored the region in the winter of 1750-1751. But the rival claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia to much of the upper Ohio Valley and the unwillingness of their assemblies to vote funds for Indian affairs left an opening for the French to intervene decisively in 1753. Richard Peters, the provincial secretary of Pennsylvania, correctly observed in July of that year:

> All these affairs of the French have taken their Rise from the imprudent and high talk of the Virginians, as if they would immediately build Forts

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[13] *New York Colonial Documents,* VI, 608-609, Conference between Colonel Johnson and a Cayuga Sachem, December 4, 1750.

[14] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1851), V, 536.

[15] *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 232-236, Conference between Jonquière and the Indians, July 11, 1751.

and settle the Ohio Lands. This they should have done and not talk'd on it so long beforehand because it has allarm'd the French too soon & no doubt that if the Virginians build they will build too . . . .[16]

French prestige in the Ohio country was notably raised in June, 1752, when Charles Langlade, a trader at Green Bay, brought a war party of some 240 Chippewas and Ottawas down from Mackinac and attacked La Demoiselle's stronghold at Pickawillany, where as many as fifty English traders were sometimes to be found. On this occasion most of the Miamis and traders were away. Langlade captured the village and killed La Demoiselle and his followers, also killing or capturing a few English traders. News of this disaster reached Croghan and the Virginia Indian commissioners at Logstown shortly after they had concluded a treaty giving them the right to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio and to settle south or east of the Alleghany.[17] In the negotiations the Seneca chief known as the Half King questioned the English claim that the Iroquois had ceded land beyond the Alleghanies to them by the Treaty of Lancaster (1744), and declared that settlement beyond the mountains should be deferred until the Onondaga council approved. The tide of English influence among the Ohio Indians set rapidly after the fall of Pickawillany. Delayed by rivalries among traders and land companies, plans for the English fort were still being discussed early in 1753 when word came that the French were moving into the Ohio in force.

After La Jonquière's death in the spring of 1752, the acting governor-general, Longueuil, had postponed until the following year any expedition to the Ohio, since he suffered from "insufficiency of provisions, canoes, and time." [18] According to the Intendant Bigot, Longueuil wanted "to leave the Belle Rivière at peace, having a special respect and consideration for the Iroquois who dwell there." [19] It was also rumored that he was privately interested in the Ohio trade, and thought that the French traders would drive out the English ones without military support. In any case, by this course of action Longueuil anticipated the orders of the French court, for the instructions drafted for the new governor-general, the Marquis de Duquesne, in April, 1752, ordered him to avoid a punitive expedition against the Ohio Indians, and to reverse previous French policy by trying to conciliate rather than to foment wars among the Indians. But it was also laid down that the Iroquois had no right to the Ohio: "We had discovered it long before they themselves had known it, and we have resorted to it when no other Indians were there but the Chaouanons [Shawnees], with whom they were at war, and who have always been our friends"[20] Duquesne was urged as a matter of the greatest importance "to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter," since "should they succeed there, they would cut off the communication between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and would be in a position to trouble them, and to ruin both the one and the other, independent of the advantages they would at once experience in their trade to the prejudice of ours." An "indisputable" French right to the Ohio was claimed by virtue of La Salle's discovery, of the established French trading posts in the region, and of possession, "which is so much the more unquestionable as it constitutes the most frequent communication from Canada to Louisiana." The instructions noted: "It is only within a few years that the English have undertaken to trade there; and now they pretend to exclude us from it." It was denied that the English had any claim to the Ohio, either in their own name or that of the Iroquois: " 'Tis certain that these Indians have none, and that, besides, the pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera."

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[16] Gipson, *op. cit.*, IV, 281-282, Peters—T. Penn, July 3, 1753.

[17] "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752", *Virginia Magazine of History*, XIII (October, 1905), 173-174.

[18] *New York Colonial Documents*, X, 250-251, Longueuil-Rouillé, April 21, 1752.

[19] Stevens and Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 40, Bigot—Minister, October 26, 1752.

Duquesne had been recommended for the post of governor-general by La Galissonière, who urged that he should be instructed to establish a line of forts along the Ohio in accordance with the former governor's *mémoire* of December 1750.[21] Arriving in Quebec late in July, 1752, Duquesne had already made plans to carry through this scheme by October. Even before he informed the minister on October 26, he had written Contrecoeur, the commandant at Niagara, that if the necessary provisions and supplies could be found, he was planning to send a force of 2,000 men next spring to the Ohio "to reestablish a line of communication that we should soon lose without this step."[22] This force of Frenchmen and Canadians, accompanied by 200 Christian Indians, was to build storehouses at both ends of the Chautauqua portage and forts at La Paille Coupée, Logstown, and Scioto. These forts were to be garrisoned by part of the force, while the rest was to winter in the Illinois if unable to return to Montreal in the fall. The expedition was to be commanded by the Sieur de Marin, the veteran commandant of Green Bay, who was feared and respected by the Indians. A young associate of the Intendant Bigot, Major Péan, was named second-in-command, while the Chevalier Le Mercier, an engineer and artillery officer, was to design and build the forts. Marin and Péan were associates of Bigot in the intendant's private financial operations which eventually wrecked the economy of New France. And Péan and Le Mercier were related to Contrecoeur, who commanded the Niagara portage over which all the men, supplies, and equipment for the Ohio would have to pass. Bigot and Péan made the most of the golden opportunities for graft under these circumstances.

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[20] *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 243-244, Minute of Instructions, April, 1752.

[21] *Ibid.,* X, 229-230, Memoir on the French Colonies in North America, December, 1750.

Since the story of Marin's expedition has been hold in detail from the French sources by Donald H. Kent,[23] I shall merely summarize it. The governor, having been warned by Joncaire on January 12, 1753, that the English were planning to settle at Logstown and French Creek, which the French called Rivière au Boeuf, and had already sent blacksmiths there,[24] changed the route of the expedition from the Chautauqua portage to the Presqu'ile-French Creek one.[25] After first landing at the original starting place in April, the advance guard moved to Presqu'ile (Erie, Pennsylvania) on May 1, and work was promptly begun on a fort there. Meanwhile the passage of the main army, which began leaving Montreal in successive detachments on April 19 and whose rearguard only arrived at Niagara late in July, overawed the Iroquois and the Great Lakes Indians. While the Iroquois sought peace from Duquesne,[26] they reported the news to William Johnson, who passed it on to Governor Clinton of New York. Since it was confirmed by reports from Oswego, Clinton, in turn, warned the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia.[27] But the French justly relied on intercolonial dissenions to prevent any prompt English counteraction. In June Duquesne contemptuously dismissed a report that the English were raising 6,000 men to send to the Ohio: "That is a good thing to tell Indians, who do not know that to raise an English troop more time and threats are necessary than for levying Canadians." [28] Under Marin's vigorous direction Fort Presqu'isle was completed by August 3, and a portage road from thence to the nearly finished Fort Le Boeuf at the head of French Creek was ready for use. Marin had discovered serious shortages of weight in the supplies, but his complaints were airily dismissed by Duquesne: "It is not at all like you to make such a difficulty, you, Sir, who were born with a hatchet in your hand and with a flour sack for a diaper." [29] Marin's interference with the grafting gang prepared the way for later difficulties with his subordinates. In August Duquesne reported optimistically to the minister that "everything announces, my Lord, the successful execution of my project . . . and the only anxiety I feel is, that the River au Boeuf Portage will delay the entrance of our troops into the Beautiful River, as it is long, and there is considerable to carry, and the horses . . . arrived there exhausted by fatigue." [30]

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[22] Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, October 5, 1752.

[23] Donald H. Kent, *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753* (Harrisburg, 1954).

[24] *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 255, Duquesne-Rouillé, August 20, 1753.

[25] Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, March 23, 1753.

[26] *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 255-256, Duquesne-Rouillé, August 20, 1753.

Duquesne's anxiety was soon justified. Movement of stores over the swampy portage road bogged down in mud, while dry weather left French Creek too shallow for the descent to the Ohio. Scurvy, fever, and dysentery felled increasing numbers of men exhausted by backbreaking labor and by the hardships which they had suffered in the long journey from Montreal. Late in August more than 300 sick had been sent back to Niagara and Marin himself had fallen ill. Although Joncaire established himself at Venango, at the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany, late that month, it was impossible to send down men and supplies to build the third fort. While the Ohio Indians had previously proved co-operative with the expedition, from which they profited, on September 3 the Half King warned Marin against making an establishment on the Ohio, declaring: "I shall strike whomever does not listen to us." [31] Marin contemptuously rejected his warning; reiterated the French claim to the Ohio, while disclaiming any desire to disturb the Indians; and announced his intention of crushing any opposition. The Shawnees promptly disvowed the Half King and welcomed the French to the Ohio.[32] But a French trader reported that the Iroquois at Logstown would not delay in attacking the French, and that the Virginian, Captain William Trent, had given them arms and ammunition "to defend themselves against those who wished to atack them." [33]

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[27] *Ibid.*, VI, 778-781, Johnson-Clinton, April 20, 1753; Stoddart-Johnson, May 15; Clinton-Lords of Trade, June 30.

[28] Kent, *The French Invasion*, p. 70, Duquesne-Marin, June 13, 1753.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 56, Duquesne-Marin, July 22, 1753.

[30] *New York Colonial Documents*, X, 256-257, Duquesne-Rouillé August 20, 1753.

In the face of mounting sickness—Marin became desperately ill late in September—dissension among the officers, continued low water, and the lateness of the season, it was decided to abandon the campaign for the year. Marin, who by now was dying, preferred to remain at Fort Le Boeuf in command of the garrisons of the two forts, rather than to return to Montreal with the rest of the army. The returning force cut a portage route from Lake Erie to Lake Chautauqua, thus affording a choice of routes to the Ohio the following year.[34] Duquesne was dismayed to learn of the decision to abandon the campaign, but when he saw the "pitiable state" of the returned troops, he praised Marin's wisdom: "There is no reason to doubt that if these weakened men had set out to reach their destination, the Rivière d'Oyo would have been strewn with dead men, because of the fevers and lung diseases which were beginning to attack this troop, and because ill-disposed Indians would not have failed to attack them when they were nothing but spectres." [35] The governor consoled himself with the thought of the great saving of lives, provisions, and expense.

Although Marin's expedition had not fulfilled its mission, it had greatly impressed the Indians. Under the experienced hand of La

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[31] Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 56, Conseil tenue par des Tsonnontouans, September 2, 1753.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62, Parole des Chaouanons, September 3, 1753.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 63, Duperont Baby-Marin, September 5, 1753; pp. 65-66, Joncaire-Marin, September 12, 1753.

[34] *New York Colonial Documents,* XI, 36-37, Examination of Stephen Coffin.

[35] Stephens and Kent, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, Duquesne-Minister, November 29, 1753.

Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, who had been ordered to replace Marin who died on October 29, the French stock among the Indians rose steadily. Upon his return to Logstown the humiliated Half King had "warned the English traders not to pass the Ohio, nor to venture either their Persons or their Goods, for the French would certainly hurt them." [36] A delegation of the Ohio Indians told the Virginians at a council late in September at Winchester that they now opposed the establishment of the long discussed fort, "for we intend to keep Our Country clear of Settlements during these troublesome times." [37] At a subsequent meeting at Carlisle with the Pennsylvanian commissioners, after news had been received of the Half King's humiliation, the Oneida chief Scarouady declared: "We desire that Pennsylvania and Virginia would at present forbear settling on our Lands over the Alleghany Hills. We advise you rather to call your People back on this side of the Hills lest Damage should be done . . . Let none of your People settle beyond where they are now, nor on the Juniata Lands, till the affair is settled between us and the French." [38] That winter, as a result of the retirement of the English traders and of Marin's failure to establish a trading post on the Ohio, the Indians suffered a desperate shortage of supplies.[39]

Upon the news of the French movement into the Ohio, Halifax had warned the British cabinet that as a result "Great Britain will not only lose near one half of the Territory to which it is indisputably entitled, but in case of a future rupture, will find it extremely difficult to keep the other half." [40] As a result a circular letter was sent to all the colonial governors, urging them to stand together against the French movement and if necessary "to repel Force by Force." [41] Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia was specifically ordered to build forts on the Ohio and to resist any French efforts to do so, after first warning them off. At the end of October he therefore sent twenty-one-year-old George Washington, an adjutant in the Virginia militia, with a letter to the French commander on the Ohio, complaining of French "acts of hostility" on British territory and requiring them to depart peaceably.[42] Washington was also ordered to report on the state of affairs in the Ohio country.

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[36] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* V, 669-670, Taffe and Callander, September 28, 1753.

[37] Gipson, *op. cit.,* IV, 284, Fairfax-Dinwiddie, November 22, 1753.

[38] *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* V, 675, October 3, 1753.

[39] Grenier, *op. cit.,* pp. 76-77, Joncaire-Marin, October 19, 1753; pp. 101-103, Joncaire-St. Pierre, February 20, 1754.

[40] Gipson, *British Empire,* IV, 289, Halifax-Cabinet, 15 Aug. 1753.

[41] *New York Colonial Documents,* IV, 794-795, Holderness-Governors, August 28, 1753.

Washington's instructions required him to seek an Indian bodyguard at Logstown. On his way there he inspected the Shurtees Creek site proposed for a fort by the Ohio Company and found it greatly inferior to one at the forks of the Ohio. Being able to secure only three chiefs, among them the Half King, and a hunter to accompany him, Washington then went to the French advance post at Venango, where he was courteously received by Joncaire and two other French officers. During a hospitable dinner at which wine flowed freely, the Frenchmen told Washington that "it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, and, by G—, they would do it; For that altho' they were sensible the English could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew that their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs."[43] Washington also acquired information about the strength of the French forces, the location of their new forts, and communications with Montreal.

Referred by Joncaire to Saint-Pierre, Washington reached Fort Le Boeuf on December 11 and presented his letter to the new French commander on the Ohio. Saint-Pierre summoned Repentigny from Fort Presqu'ile, since the latter understood a little English. While the French officers puzzled out a translation of Dinwiddie's letter and drafted a reply, Washington took notes on the fort and the canoes and pirogues prepared for a movement to the Ohio in the spring. In his reply Saint-Pierre said he would send Dinwiddie's letter to the governor-general, "to whom it better belongs, than to me, to set forth the evidence and the reality of the rights of the King, my master, to the lands situate along the Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto." Pending new orders from Duquesne, Saint-Pierre refused to retire from his post. He denied that any acts of aggression had been committed by the French, or anything done contrary to the treaties between the two crowns, "the continuation of which interests and pleases us as much as it does the English."[44] A month later Washington presented this reply to the Virginia governor, together with an excellent sketch map and his report that the French were about to build a fort at Venango, to be supplemented by others at the Forks, Logstown, and other places down the Ohio.

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[42] *Ibid.*, X, 258, Dinwiddie-St. Pierre, October 31, 1753.

[43] John C. Fitzpatrick (Ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington* (Boston, 1925), I, 55-56.

Duquesne received Dinwiddie's summons and a report of Saint-Pierre's reply on January 30, 1754. He dismissed the English claims to the Ohio as "sheer imagination, for it belongs to us incontestably. Moreover, the King wishes it, and that is enough for us to march forward were there twice as many cannon presented."[45] In a postscript to a letter to Contrecoeur, whom he had earlier appointed to succeed the ailing Saint-Pierre in command of the Ohio, Duquesne added instructions:

> Since this governor does not write to me, I shall merely order you, in case he sends you another summons, to tell him your instructions state that the Ohio and its tributaries belong incontestably to the Most Christian King; that as for insults contrary to international law, he can attribute none to us; and that if we stop the English who come to trade in our territory, it is because we have a right to do it, for we do not go on their land; that, moreover, the King my master asks only for his rights. He has no intention of disturbing the good harmony and friendship which prevail between His Majesty and the King of Great Britain.[46]

As proof of his friendly attitude, he cited his redemption from the Indians of a captive Carolina boy, whom he had sent to Boston, and the fact that he had forbidden the Indians "to exercize their usual cruelty against the English, with whom we are friends."

Though Duquesne had been convinced that Saint-Pierre's report upon his return to Montreal that the English were gathering to build a fort on the Ohio was baseless, and that it was "impossible for them to establish themselves solidly," in fact, Captain Trent and a small party of Virginia frontiersmen and artisans began to lay the foundations of the long discussed fort at the Forks on February 17. But before Washington, who had been ordered in January to raise 200 men to protect the builders of the fort, could reach the forks, and while

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[44] *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 258-259, St. Pierre-Dinwiddie, December 15, 1753.

[45] Grenier, *op. cit.,* pp. 98-99, Duquesne-St. Pierre, January 30, 1754.

[46] *Ibid.,* pp. 95-96, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, January 30, 1754.

Trent was making a trip across the mountains to seek badly needed supplies, the French descended upon Ensign Ward and his forty men on April 16.

Duquesne had acted with his usual vigor, unhampered by a reluctant assembly and intercolonial complications. He had sent a force of over 1,000 men to Fort Presqu'ile early in the spring, and ordered Contrecoeur to descend to the Ohio as soon as possible. The Sieur de La Chauvignerie had been sent early in January with thirty men to establish a French post at Logstown, where Duquesne first intended to build his main fort on the Ohio. La Chauvignerie was also to prepare the Indians for the coming of a French army in the spring. He reported his embarrassment in negotiating with them, since he had only the simplest presents to give, while the English had provided them with a wealth of gold and silver braid and scarlet cloth.[47] But from them he learned that the English would not reach the Ohio until late in March. Both La Chauvignery at Logstown and Joncaire at Venango, despite shortage of provisions and constant danger from the fickle Indians, kept Contrecoeur posted of developments along the Ohio. The English operations at the Ohio Company's trading post at Redstone Creek and at the forks of the Ohio were promptly reported by scouts. When news of the latter project reached Montreal, Duquesne promptly ordered Contrecoeur to "interrupt and even destroy" the English fortifications at the start, "for their consolidation will involve us in a siege and presumably a rupture, which it is prudent to avoid, considering the bad state of the King's finances."[48]

But Contrecoeur, who had been encouraged to use his own judgment, had already descended French Creek with an advance guard of 500 men and cannon and moved on down the Alleghany to the Forks. On April 16 he summoned the English to retire and never to return, "since it is uncontestable that the lands situated along the Belle Rivière belong to His Most Christian Majesty." [49] He announced his willingness to let them depart unharmed, if they were acting under the orders of the Governor of Virginia; if they were merely traders, he regretted the necessity of making them prisoners and confiscating their goods. He declared: "Your enterprise has only been planned by a Company which is more concerned with the interests of Trade than to work to maintain the union and Good Harmony between the two Crowns of France and England, although it interests your nation as much as ours to maintain it." Contrecoeur also addressed a summons to the few Indians who had joined the English, warning them that they would be crushed like the English unless they retired. On the other hand, he invited them to return to dependence upon the French governor, "who still wishes to offer you his hand," though he long had had reason to be dissatisfied with their conduct.[50] Both ultimatums were singularly effective, because of the strength of the French force already on the Ohio and the well-founded rumors of large reinforcements proceeding up the St. Lawrence. Duquesne ordered Péan to reinforce and provision Forts Presqu'ile and Le Boeuf, and if possible to descend to the Ohio by the Chautauqua route, since "this manner of reinforcing the detachment of the Sieur de Contrecoeur would be infinitely agreeable to us by the impression that it would give the savages of seeing troops debouching everywhere."[51] Ensign Ward did not argue the "indisputable" rights of the English to the Ohio, but on April 17, promptly retired to Wills Creek where he reported to the advancing Washington. The French demolished the unfinished English fort and then reared a much larger one which they named Duquesne in honor of the governor.

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[47] *Ibid.*, p. 100, La Chauvignery-St. Pierre, February 10, 1754.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 114, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, April 15, 1754.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118, Sommation de Contrecoeur aux Anglais, April 16, 1754.

News of Contrecoeur's seizure of the Forks reached Montreal early in May. Duquesne hastened to congratulate him on having fulfilled "the most important mission that had ever been given in this Colony" by re-establishing peace in a region "which you have snatched from the hands of an avid usurper."[52] The governor was particularly pleased that the English had been driven off without any act of hostility, and urged Contrecoeur to take whatever measures would discourage them from further trading on the Ohio. He had already suggested that the best way was to send out small parties to seize English traders, deprive them of their goods, and send them to Montreal to prison, later to be released to warn their colleagues of the fate that awaited them.[53] Meanwhile free trade for Frenchmen was to prevail on the Ohio, in order to encourage the Montreal merchants to venture there. Since supplying the new posts would be both expensive and difficult, Contrecoeur was constantly encouraged to make them as self-sufficient as possible by sowing grain.

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[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117, Paroles de Contrecoeur aux Sauvages, April 16, 1754.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 121, Instructions de Duquesne à Péan, May 9, 1754.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 125, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, May 11, 1754.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 123, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, May 9, 1754.

But there was to be little peaceful harvesting of crops along the Ohio for some years to come. After holding a council of war at Wills Creek to consider the French seizure of the Forks, Washington had determined to press on to Redstone Creek. He hoped to launch an attack from this place, after his 159 men had been reinforced by forces gathering in Virginia. As a result of this courageous, if brash decision, Washington's force followed the Nemacolin Trail, a rough track through the Alleghanies from the Potomac to the Youghiogheny which had been blazed in 1751 for the Ohio Company. It was unsuitable for supply wagons and the artillery which Washington had urged Dinwiddie to send, and therefore Washington put his men to work at improving it. The result was that his force progressed at the rate of three miles a day, only reaching the Youghiogheny on May 17. The promised force of southern Indians had not arrived, and Trent's backwoodsmen had to be discharged because they wanted higher pay. But expresses brought Washington word that reinforcements were on the way, and he decided to press on despite a report that the French at the Forks had been reinforced by 800 men. Since the remainder of the trail to Redstone Creek was reported to be "over almost impassible Roads and Mountains," Washington vainly sought a water route by way of the Youghiogheny. He then continued overland to the Great Meadows, where he fortified himself upon receiving word from the Half King that the French had sent out a force to meet him. This news was confirmed on May 27 by Christopher Gist, who reported that a party of fifty Frenchmen had raided his cabin. That evening a second message came from the Half King, warning Washington that the French were lurking along his route.

Washington promptly set out with forty men in a heavy rain, "in a night as dark as pitch," to join the Half King. He reached the Indian camp at dawn, and decided to make a joint attack on the French party. The Virginians and Indians were discovered as they closed in on the French camp which was hidden in a ravine. Washington gave the order to fire when the French rushed to arms. After fifteen minutes' brisk action the enemy was routed, having lost their commander, Coulon de Jumonville, nine killed, one wounded, and twenty-one prisoners. Only one Canadian escaped to Fort Duquesne. Washington's Indians scalped the French dead.

This skirmish opened the final conflict between France and England in America and started a world war, for the French promptly claimed that Jumonville had been "assassinated" while on a diplomatic mission. It was true that Jumonville carried a summons from Contrecoeur to the commander of the English forces, which had come "armed and in open force upon the lands of the King my master," requiring them to retire peaceably.[54] Contrecoeur announced his intention to repel "force by force" in the future, and declared that if any act of hostility resulted, "it will be yours to reply for it, since it is our intention to maintain the union between our two friendly Princes." But Washington only learned of Jumonville's mission from his prisoners; and he rejected this explanation of the French party's purposes as a "specious pretext to be able to reconnoiter our camp and learn our strength and situation." [55] In his journal he noted:

> Their instructions ordered that they take cognizance of the rivers, roads, and country to the Potomac. And instead of coming as an Ambassador, publicly and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought after the most hidden retreats, better suited for deserters than an Ambassador; they encamped there and remained hidden for two whole days, at a distance of not more than five miles from us; they sent spies to reconnioter our camp; the whole body turned back two miles; they sent the two messengers mentioned in the instructions to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it should be given.

The French claimed that Jumonville had been killed while attempting to read this summons; Washington denied their claim as an "absolute falsehood" and declared that "as soon as they saw us they ran to their arms, without calling."[56] The French claim is supported only by the account of the fugitive who fled at the opening of the affair; but it was accepted by Contrecoeur, Duquesne, and the French government, which published the official version[57] of the affair as justification for a formal declaration of war two years after the skirmish in the Alleghanies. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jumonville was killed in a fair fight brought on by his actions, which were more appropriate to a scout than an envoy, but it is well to remember that this version has only recently been accepted by leading French and Canadian historians.[58] The alleged assassination of Jumonville explains some of the savagery with which the French waged the undeclared war which was thus opened.

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 130, Sommation de Jumonville, May 23, 1754.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 158, Journal de Washington.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[57] *Memoire contentant le Précis des Faits* (Paris, 1756).

After the skirmish which was to have international repercussions, Washington waited for reinforcements at Great Meadows, where he completed a small palisaded fort which he named Fort Necessity. By June 12 he had been joined by 200 Virginians and 200 Carolina regulars. The officers of the latter refused to accept orders from Washington, who held only a provincial and not a royal commission. Leaving the Carolinians to their own devices, Washington set out on June 16 with the Virginians for the Monongahela, despite reports that the French at Fort Duquesne were being reinforced by 1,100 men and that the Shawnees and the Delawares were taking up the hatchet against the English. Burdened with nine swivel guns and supply wagons, his force made slow progress. At Gist's Plantation near Mount Braddock it was necessary to halt for three days, while an unsuccessful council was held with a band of Shawnees, Delawares, and Iroquois, whom Washington and the Half King tried to keep allies of the English. On June 28, when the English were still some eight miles from Redstone Creek, Washington got word that a large force of French and Indians was advancing against him. After a council of war it was decided the following day to retreat to Wills Creek. Since many horses and wagons had been lost in the advance, the retreat was slow and laborious, and the little army reached Fort Necessity on July 1 in exhausted condition. There was nothing to do but halt here and fight.

Meanwhile Coulon de Villiers, brother of the slain Jumonville, had arrived at Fort Duquesne with a force of Iroquois, Abenakis, Hurons, Ottawas, Algonquins, and Nipissings drawn from the French missions. He found that Contrecoeur was about to send out a detachment of 500 Frenchmen and Canadians with a few Indians under Le Mercier. Villiers claimed the command of this force in view of his seniority in rank, his commission from Duquesne to lead the Indians, and the fact that it was his brother who was to be avenged. Contrecoeur granted it to him, and Le Mercier expressed pleasure at the prospect of serving under him. Villiers set out on the morning of June 28 with 600 French and 100 Indians, reaching Redstone Creek two days later. Guided by Indian scouts, he followed the tracks of Washington's army, pausing at the place, as he put it, "where my brother had been assassinated," which was still littered with scalped bodies.[59] Late on the morning of July 3 Villiers reached Fort Necessity. After a nine hours' fight which threatened to exhaust the ammunition of both forces, Villiers offered to parley. His force was exhausted by fighting all day, and his Indians were threatening to leave on the morrow, as usual having little stomach for the siege of a well-defended fort. There were also rumors of drums and cannon fire having been heard in the distance, suggesting the coming of English reinforcements. Washington at first refused to parley, but on a second offer sent Captain Jacob Van Braam, who spoke French. Villiers offered the English a capitulation, "having only come to avenge the assassination of my brother in violation of the most sacred laws, and to force them to retire from the lands of the King's domain."[60] If the English refused its terms, he declared that he could not save them from the cruelty of the Indians, from which there would be no hope of escape.

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[58] Cf. the thorough examination of the French story by Marcel Trudel, "L'affaire Jumonville," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française,* IV (December, 1952), 331-373, which explodes the assassination thesis of Bernard Fäy and the Abbé George Robitaille.

The French, who were not anxious to feed prisoners as well as themselves, offered generous terms. The English were to march out with the honors of war, taking their baggage and one cannon; they were to be protected from insult by the French and as far as possible from the Indians. The preamble of the capitulation professed that it had never been the French intention "to trouble the peace which reigns between two friendly Princes, but only to avenge the assassination of one of our officers, bearer of a summons, and of his escort, and also to prevent any establishment on the lands of the King my Master."[61] Villiers made a slip in Article 6, which provided that the English were not to make an establishment either at this place or anywhere beyond the height of land "for a year from this day," thus admitting their right to later settlement. But Washington made a still more serious slip, which seems to have arisen from Van Braam's translation of "L'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville" by "death of Jumonville," by accepting Article 7, which provided that two English officers should be held as hostages by the French for the return of the prisoners taken in the Jumonville affair. This was later made much of by French writers as a frank admission by Washington of his guilt for Jumonville's murder.

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[59] Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 260, Journal de M. de Villiers.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 203, Capitulation du Fort Necessité. The original is in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1922-1923* (Québec, 1924), pp. 342-343.

It was at daybreak on July 4 that the French took possession of Fort Necessity, and Washington's garrison, which had lost thirty killed and seventy wounded or a third of its strength, began its retreat with drums beating and colors flying. Villiers pitied them, "despite the resentment I felt for the fashion in which they had made my brother perish."[62] As soon as the fort was yielded up, the Indians began to loot it and also to pillage the English. When Washington protested, Villiers sought to restrain the Indians, but according to his own account, "the English, still petrified with fright, took flight, even leaving their tents and one of their flags." Further Indian outrages were prevented by Villiers' staving of the casks of rum left at the fort. He also returned to Washington ten English stragglers rounded up by the Indians. Warned by the savages that English reinforcements were on the way, Villiers promptly quit the place after destroying Fort Necessity and the guns which the English had left behind. On his way back to Fort Duquesne he also burned all the English establishments along the way. Not only had all English footholds west of the Alleghanies been wiped out, but their prestige with the Ohio Indians had suffered a fatal blow. As Parkman noted, "when in the next year the smouldering war broke into flame, nearly all the western tribes drew their scalping-knives for France."[63] In the battle at Fort Necessity "the English had not one Indian to fight for them," [64] according to a trader, and during their retreat they were harried by the savages.

Governor Duquesne thought that the capture of Fort Necessity was "the finest blow that could have been struck in Canada" and trusted that this "good lesson" would remain "fixed in the minds of the English and the savages."[65] After reading Washington's captured papers, he was moved to write: "What desertion, what difficulties, in the provinces where Washington has passed; what discord among the troops of the different provinces which claim Independence! This has made me understand that we shall always fight a force as badly organized as unwarlike."[66]

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 201, Journal de Villiers.

[63] Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 161.

[64] Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, 45, n. 2.

[65] Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 222, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, July 25, 1754.

Duquesne was convinced by the easy defeat of Washington that "it was morally impossible that the English should come to attack Fort Duquesne without first making a large establishment at Redstone Creek."[67] The governor ordered Contrecoeur to put the Indians on the warpath, "without it appearing that you are mixed up with it," if the English began to build there or made any other attempts on the Ohio. But he thought it impossible that they would come in force, "since the 4,000 men of last year were reduced to 700, and there is reason to presume that they will have more trouble than ever in assembling the same number." During September Contrecoeur refused to exchange the two English hostages, Captains Van Braam and Robert Stobo, for the French officer and cadets held prisoner in Virginia, since the capitulation of Fort Necessity provided that all the French prisoners should be returned within two months and a half. At the end of that time Van Braam and Stobo were sent to Canada, where they took advantage of the freedom allowed them to spy on the French defenses and to intrigue with the Christian Indians. English deserters arrived at Fort Duquesne with reports of the expedition which Dinwiddie vainly tried to launch against the French that fall,[68] but in the end nothing was accomplished by the English except the building of a fort and magazine at Wills Creek, which was named Fort Cumberland.

In a letter seeking to quiet Contrecoeur's uneasiness at these developments, Duquesne again expressed confidence in the fort's security, urging its commander to repel force by force if attacked, and to keep the Indians busy harrying any new English establishments. But there was to be no question of attacking the English in strength beyond the mountains, now that Jumonville's death had been avenged.[69] In another letter commending Contrecoeur for rejecting the English proposals for an exchange of prisoners, Duquesne observed: "You ought to be at your ease, for I am very much so."[70] Still later in October he advised Contrecoeur of his orders from the minister to adopt a defensive policy and to give no occasion for justifiable complaints by the English.[71] Contrecoeur was to be watchful against surprise and English encroachments, but he was to restrain the Indians from taking scalps and only to set them on the warpath in the last extremity.[72] While the governor approved Contrecoeur's efforts to strengthen Fort Duquesne during the winter, he was still convinced in the middle of February that rumors of an English expedition against it were mere empty boasts. Indeed, he proposed to reduce the garrison, which "would exhaust the resources of the Colony and the finances of the King if one were obliged to maintain it."[73] He informed Contrecoeur that De Beaujeu would leave Montreal at the opening of navigation to relieve him of his command. This advance party of 150 men was to be followed by 400 more with provisions for four months, and a force of Indians who were to be allowed to take up the hatchet with the Shawnees against the English if they so desired.

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 251, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, September 8, 1754.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 255, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, September 17, 1754.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259, Déposition de deserteurs anglais, September 20, 1754.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, October 17, 1754.

Contrecoeur got word late in January that an English expedition against Fort Duquesne was pending, although General Braddock only landed in Virginia on February 19 and the transports with his two Irish regiments did not arrive until early March. English deserters and prisoners taken by the Indians reported these developments to Contrecoeur within two weeks, and even gave him a garbled account of the over-all English plan of campaign for the year, revealing that an attack on Niagara was planned as well as one on Fort Duquesne.[74] But Contrecoeur, still seeking to avoid an open rupture, late in March sent back to Wills Creek three Englishmen whom his son had captured, with the observation that they would have been treated as spies "if peace did not exist between our two nations."[75] He urged the English commander to prevent further intrusions into French territory, "to avoid the inconveniences which might result, and which would not accord with the good understanding between the two courts."

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[70] *Ibid.*, p. 265, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, October 21, 1754.

[71] *Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1905* (Ottawa, 1906), I, vi, 193, Machault-Duquesne, August 19, 1754; *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 264-265, Duquesne-Machault, October 28, 1754.

[72] Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 266, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, October 30, 1754.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 276, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, February 15, 1755.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283, Dépositions de deserteurs anglais, May 15, March 20, 1755.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 305, Contrecoeur-Commandant de Will's Creek, March 22, 1755.

While a worried Contrecoeur was complaining that he received no news from Montreal or Detroit, Duquesne wrote him on April 11 that "the English say that they intend to attack me everywhere, but I do not fear an enemy who makes so much noise and who makes no appearance anywhere."[76] De Beaujeu could not leave Montreal until April 20, because March had been as cold as January. He was to make all haste to Fort Duquesne, and his force was to be followed by other brigades. Duquesne reported that an Oneida chief had been poisoned at Oswego and that the Tuscaroras were going on the warpath against the Cherokees, who at English instigation had killed some of their warriors. Duquesne thought these developments, which should strengthen Indian support of the French, very happy ones: "there are no barriers equal to such defenders."[77]

In April Contrecoeur sought to hasten the forwarding of cannon and supplies from Fort Presqu'ile, and sent out scouts to discover when Braddock's army was to leave Fort Cumberland and when it might be expected to reach Fort Duquesne.[78] While Contrecoeur worked desperately to strengthen the fort with the aid of the engineer Chaussegros de Léry whom he had summoned from Detroit, Duquesne belittled his precautions, observing: "I have told you more than once that I shall only credit a siege of Fort Duquesne when you send me word that the English have opened their trenches."[79] Despite rumors of a proposed English attack on Fort St. Frédéric (Crown Point), Duquesne declared: "I am tranquil and I advise you to be so, for the English on this continent are not warlike enough to undertake sieges." Nonetheless, he was sending some Ottawas and Saulteux from Mackinac to strengthen Contrecoeur's Indian forces. In the middle of May Contrecoeur wrote De Beaujeu, urging him to hurry on to Fort Duquesne as French Creek might soon become too shallow for the passage of men and supplies. He hoped that he would not delay too long building the new Fort Machault at Joncaire's old post at Venango. His scouts still reported no sign of an English movement, and he thought they might have been halted by orders from London.[80] But on June 1 he informed De Beaujeu that an Indian scout reported that 3,000 English had gathered at Fort Cumberland and were about to leave to attack Fort Duquesne with powerful artillery. Since they would have to make their own road, Contrecoeur did not anticipate that they would make fast progress, but he had posted Indian scouts at the height of land to give him warning. Once more he urged De Beaujeu to make haste, and once more he indicated his fears that Fort Duquesne would not be sufficiently well provisioned to stand a siege.[81] On June 6 he learned from an English deserter that Braddock was on the march: the advance guard of 700 men was reported already two leagues beyond Fort Necessity. Contrecoeur had sent out a party of some sixty savages and eleven volunteer French cadets under De Normanville to delay their advance. He urged De Beaujeu to come at once with all the men and provisions he could bring.[82] But the latter only reached Presqu'ile on June 8, where he was delayed in making the portage to the Ohio by the feebleness of the horses and the absence of Indian helpers.

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[76] *Ibid.*, p. 308, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, April 11, 1755.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, April 13, 1755; *New York Colonial Documents,* X, 290, Duquesne-Drucourt, March, 1755.

[78] Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311, Contrecoeur-Douville, April 14, 1755.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323, Duquesne-Contrecoeur, April 27, 1755.

On June 16 Contrecoeur assembled the Senecas, Cayugas, Shawnees, and Delawares who had gathered at Fort Duquesne, along with the Indians from Detroit. He urged them to take up the hatchet against the English who came to disturb the peace which the French had established in the Ohio country.[83] On June 21 Contrecoeur reported to the governor that in addition to De Normanville's scouting party he had also sent out three small parties of Indians with orders to harry the English rearguard and to destroy the army's horses, as well as a detachment of 150 Pottowatomies under Niverville. Thus he hoped to delay or halt the English advance until help reached Fort Duquesne. As soon as De Normanville's party returned, he planned to send out another of 150 Saulteux, Hurons, and Ohio Indians under De Bailleul. He was confident that the English would not be able to open the siege of Fort Duquesne as planned on July 3, to avenge their defeat at Fort Necessity. He prayed that God would grant him the grace to leave the Ohio with as much happiness as he had entered it, and he expected that the issue with the English would be settled within less than a month.[84] His prayer was granted even sooner than he expected.

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[80] *Ibid.*, p. 347, Contrecoeur-de Beaujeu, May 18, 1755.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353, Contrecoeur-de Beaujeu, June 1-4, 1755.

[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357, Contrecoeur-de Beaujeu, June 7, 1755.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 363, Paroles de Contrecoeur aux Sauvagaes, June 16, 1755.

Contrecoeur's scouting parties proved ineffective, for the slow advance of Braddock's army through the forest was well guarded by scouts and flankers.[85] At Little Meadows, which was only reached on June 18 though the army had left Fort Cumberland, thirty miles away, on June 10, Braddock took Washington's advice to push ahead with a body of 1,200 picked troops, leaving Colonel Dunbar to bring up the rear with the heavy baggage. This decision was taken on the basis of an unfounded rumor that 500 French regulars were on their way to reinforce Fort Duquesne. But though the advance force was burdened only with indispensable artillery and thirty wagons, it still progressed at the rate of only three miles a day. To Washington's disgust, "instead of pushing ahead with vigor without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole-hill and to erect bridges over every brook."[86]

On July 8 the English decided to avoid a bad crossing of Turtle Brook and a dangerous defile commanded by higher ground by fording the shallow Monongahela twice. That day some French and Indian scouts reported that the English were within eight miles of Fort Duquesne, and another party reported that they were making rapid progress. Contrecoeur promptly sent out all the men he could spare from the fort to meet the enemy. The detachment consisted of 250 French and 650 Indians under the command of De Beaujeu, who had Dumas, Lignery, and several other French officers as subalterns. This force set out early on July 9 and encountered Gage's advance guard shortly after noon below the mouth of Turtle Creek. The English were in a relaxed mood, having successfully negotiated both crossings of the Monongahela. The trail here was flanked by heavily wooded ravines and dominated by a wooded hill. These were not secured by Gage's force, although hitherto careful precautions had been taken against surprise. Firing broke out immediately on both sides when French and English met, and Gage's six pounders were brought into action, twice making the unseasoned Canadians recoil and killing De Beaujeu with their third round. Dumas took over the command and rallied the shaken French and Indian forces, ordering them to take cover on either side of the trail. Their devastating crossfire soon make a shambles of the orderly British line of battle which first Gage and then Braddock tried to form, and the English column was thrown into hopeless confusion. Panic soon became universal, and after three hours of fighting an invisible enemy, in which Braddock and many of his officers were killed and many others, including Washington, were wounded, the English fled across the Monongahela, leaving everything behind them. The panic-stricken British regulars fled forty miles before they could be rallied, and then it was only to retreat in a more orderly manner to Wills Creek. The French were in no position to follow up their victory, for Dumas only had some twenty Frenchmen left, most of the young Canadians having fled at the first fire. The Indians were more interested in pillaging and taking scalps, although De Courtemanche and other French officers who led them persuaded some to pursue the fleeing English until nightfall. Contrecoeur reported that if the English had returned with 1,000 fresh troops, "we would perhaps have found ourselves very embarrassed."[87]

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[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 364-367, Contrecoeur-Vaudreuil, June 21, 1755.

[85] Stanley M. Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York, 1936), p. 129, French Account of the Action near the Ohio, July 14, 1755.

[86] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, I, 144.

But the victory was great enough as it was. At a cost of twenty-three dead and sixteen wounded a force of Canadian militia and Indians had defeated Braddock's proud army, which had been intended to drive the French from North America. The English lost sixty-three officers and 914 killed and wounded. The French spoils included four twelve-pounders, two six-pounders, four eight-inch howitzers, three mortars, many muskets, a large supply of ammunition, and siege equipment, as well as horses, cattle, and all Braddock's papers, which revealed the English plans in North America in full detail. The Battle of the Monongahela was a victory that justified Contrecoeur's prompt requests for reward and retirement.

The French did not at once realize the full extent of their success. Not only was Braddock's advance guard shattered, but the whole army was demoralized. Colonel Dunbar, who took over command from the dying Braddock, destroyed or abandoned most of the guns, ammunition, and supplies which had been brought into the wilderness at such great cost. He retreated precipitately to Fort Cumberland, and then early in August left there to go rather prematurely into winter quarters in Philadelphia, leaving the Virginia frontier protected only by the independent royal companies and the Virginian militia. The friction which had existed from the first between the British regulars and the provincials now developed into contempt and distrust, nourished by the alarm which the colonists felt at the frontier being left defenseless.

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[87] Pargellis, *op cit.*, pp. 129-131, Contrecoeur-Vaudreuil, July 14, 1755.

But Governor Dinwiddie's fears of a French invasion of Virginia over Braddock's road were not realized this year, for Contrecoeur found it difficult to keep the Indians under control. With their usual fickleness, they wanted to go home after the battle. The western Indians were particularly anxious to leave, and Contrecoeur urged the governor to send others to replace them, since he thought it necessary to have at least eighty or a hundred at Fort Duquesne.[88] When he received orders from Vaudreuil to send out war parties against Fort Cumberland and the Virginia settlements in retaliation for the English seizure of Fort Beauséjour in Acadia, he had only a few Shawnees left and it was hard to get them to march. He reduced his garrison to 260 men, sending the rest to help with the building of Fort Machault, which made slow progress, and to Presqu'ile. Though an English deserter reported that the English army had dispersed, leaving Fort Cumberland garrisoned by only 150 men, the French on the Ohio and on the lakes remained in a state of alarm, uncertain whether the English would strike again at Fort Duquesne or at Niagara in August.[89] Contrecoeur remained at his post, waiting for the transfer of command to Dumas which Vaudreuil signed on August 8, and worried as always about supplies, transport, and Indian affairs.

Serious as the English threat to French control of the Ohio had been, the main scene of conflict soon shifted to the north with the formal declaration of war in 1756. Once the English threat to Niagara and the French lifeline to the Ohio had been eliminated by Montcalm's capture of Oswego in 1756, with the aid of some of Braddock's cannon, the main battleground was Lake George and Lake Champlain. Though the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes line of communication was open, because of famine in Canada a new one was developed, so that the Ohio forts could be supplied from the Illinois and Mississippi settlements, as well as from Detroit. Thanks to the numerous small raiding parties which Dumas sent out from Fort Duquesne to devastate the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the French remained masters of western Pennsylvania until 1758. Then the capture of Fort Frontenac in August and the march of Brigadier Forbes' army against Fort Duquesne cost the French the support of the Indians on which they had relied to maintain themselves on the Ohio. After winning two skirmishes which failed to halt Forbes' advance, De Lignery and his garrison of 200 blew up Fort Duquesne on November 24, 1758, and retired to Forts Machault, Le Boeuf, and Presqu'ile. The French did not evacuate these forts until July, 1759, after Sir William Johnson's capture of Niagara and his defeat of the force of *coureurs de bois* and Indians which had been raised on the Great Lakes to attack Fort Pitt, as Forbes had renamed Fort Duquesne in honor of the great statesman who finally broke the French power in North America.

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[88] Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400, Contrecoeur-Vaudreuil, July 26, 1755.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 407, 408-409, Contrecoeur-Vaudreuil, July 29 and 31, August 3; pp. 422-423, Benoist-Contrecoeur, August 21, 1755.

Thus the end of the French occupation of western Pennsylvania only slightly anticipated the fall of New France itself. It had been a gallant effort to withstand the irresistable pressure of expansion of the far more populous and richer English colonies. Shorthanded from the start in a war they never sought, the French had to rely on unstable savage allies to make up for the shortage of French regulars and Canadian militia, which neither the mother country nor the beseiged colony on the St. Lawrence could spare. They suffered great hardships, thanks to a long and difficult line of communications, and to corruption in high places which resulted in their being sent inadequate and short supplies. Only because of the skill in forest warfare and in the management of Indians which the French had acquired in a century and a half of wilderness life were they able to resist the inevitable as long as they did. And if it must be admitted that their Indian allies violated the humane orders which the French gave them to avoid cruelty to those who fell into their hands, the French tried to mitigate the horrors of savage warfare by redeeming English captives and giving orphaned victims a Christian upbringing, as many entries in the *Register of Fort Duquesne*[90] prove. In their last great conflict in North America both English and French used the ruthless methods of Indian warfare, and the French occupation is not the only dark chapter in the early history of western Pennsylvania.

University of Rochester

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[90] Andrew A. Lambing, *The Register of Fort Duquesne* (Pittsburgh, 1954). [reprint].

THREE AMERICAN LETTERS FROM THE WISEMAN PAPERS

During the course of a visit in August, 1956, to Saint Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, which is situated four or five miles from the city of Durham, the managing editor of the *REVIEW* was privileged to examine the extensive collection of manuscripts relating to the history of English Catholicism which are housed in the college library. Among the numerous papers of Nicholas Wiseman (1802-1865), first Archbishop of Westminster, there were found about a half dozen letters from various persons in the United States. Of these three were thought to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication. The editor wishes to express his sincere gratitude to the Reverend William V. Smith, pastor of All Saints Church, Lanchester, in the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, who is very familiar with the Ushaw collections and who had the kindness to have typed copies of these letters made for reproduction.

Of the three letters that follow the first is by far the most informative. It was written to Wiseman in the year that the latter became Vice Rector of the English College in Rome. The writer, John A. Larkin, was born on February 2, 1801, in County Durham and entered Ushaw in 1810, the same year that Wiseman became a student at the college. After a time Larkin left school and went to sea, and in 1819 he accompanied the newly consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, Edward Bede Slater, O.S.B., to his distant post where he remained until April, 1823. Upon his return to Europe he decided to study for the priesthood and entered the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris. Upon the advice of the Sulpicians he came to the United States, arriving in Baltimore on September 9, 1825, in the company of Father Michael F. Wheeler, S.S. On August 26, 1827, Larkin was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Maréchal, along with Peter S. Schreiber, and shortly thereafter he joined the Sulpicians, having brought with him a recommendation for membership from the superiors of the society in France. During his days at Saint Mary's he was described by the seminary authorities as a student whose "conduct, amiable and pious, made him loved by his superiors and by his equals." [1] He was not destined to remain long among the Baltimore community, however, for the same source stated: "On the request of our confreres at Montreal to supply their extreme need, we have been forced to cede him to them. He left here November 20, 1827,"[2] After some years Larkin joined the Jesuits in November, 1840, and in 1849 was appointed second Bishop of Toronto, an honor which he declined. Two years later he returned to the United States where he served a term as Rector of Saint John's College, Fordham, and after filling other assignments from his Jesuit superiors he died at Saint Francis Xavier College, 16th Street, New York, on December 11, 1858.[3]

In his letter to Wiseman in February, 1827, Larkin made some interesting observations about seminary life at Saint Mary's and the general religious conditions in the United States, along with comments on his experiences in the island of Mauritius. Larkin is mentioned in the second letter to Wiseman written later the same year, by the Archbishop of Baltimore,[4] a letter which with the third from Father Peter Richard Kenrick of Philadelphia,[5] reflects the early reputation which the future cardinal had gained among the leaders of the American Church for his proficiency in oriental languages and his published writings in the field of apologetics. Wherever proper names appear in the letters with no identification it means that an effort to identify them resulted in failure.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

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[1] "Entrance List" of Saint Mary's Seminary published in Joseph W. Ruane, *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States, 1791–1829* (Washington, 1935), p. 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[3] Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* (London, n.d.), IV, 139–142.

[4] Ambrose Maréchal, S.S. (1764–1828) was consecrated on December 14, 1817, as third Archbishop of Baltimore.

[5] Peter Richard Kenrick (1806–1896) came to the United States from Ireland in 1833 and was consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop of Saint Louis on November 30, 1841.

St. Mary's Seminary
Baltimore
Feby. 12. 1827.

My dear Friend

I received last September your very kind letter dated Rome Feby 14. 1825. It was accompanied by a letter for Tom Errington, the Hebrew Grammar which you had the kindness to promise me when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Versailles, and by "Les Hypothèses de Ptolemée." It was exceedingly unfortunate that the person to whom Mr. Whitehead entrusted the forwarding of his books from Italy to Paris, did not execute his commission with greater fidelity. Had his instructions been attended to, the box would have arrived at Paris long before my departure from that city. I should have avoided much uneasiness, and fruitless search, and you would not have had the disappointment to learn that the book, which you intended should be forwarded to your Mother,[6] has been received by me at Baltimore. I regret this accident the more, because it would have been prevented, had I been able to go to Versailles, as I fully intended to do, to pay a visit to your Mother before my departure. I had determined upon a day for this journey, but something (I cannot recollect what it was) occurred, which hindered me from executing my project—After the kindness with which I was received at Versailles, I was most certainly bound in common politeness not to leave France without taking leave of her—I did think of doing it by writing—but was deterred by the apprehension that it might appear a too great liberty. I beg of you to have the goodness to apologise for my uncourtious [*sic*] behaviour, & to present to her my most respectful Compliments, the first time you write. I know not when I may have an opportunity of sending the book to France—I suppose there must be some particular reason for sending this from

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[6] Wiseman's mother was Xaviera Strange of Aylwardstown Castle, County Kilkenny, Ireland, second wife of James Wiseman, the future cardinal's father; mother and sister were living in Versailles where Nicholas Wiseman visited them in the summer of 1824 between the winning of his Roman doctorate on July 7, 1824, and his ordination to the priesthood on March 10, 1825. In a letter to George Errington from Paris on September 8, 1824, Wiseman spoke of Larkin. He said: "I went with John Larkin (who is with his brother Felix at St. Sulpice) to the examination of the deaf and dumb, and was completely astonished; you can have no idea of it." Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1898), I, 48.

Rome to the author in Paris—Yet as the accident has happened—and the book has so far overshot its mark, and a favourable and sure opportunity of sending it to him may not readily present itself, I think he can hardly be rationabiliter invitus, that this work should add to the number and value of my little library. However this is subject to your approbation—& if you wish it to be forwarded to or rather to be sent back to Paris I shall do it by the first favourable opportunity—I feel extremely obliged to you for your kind attention in sending me Slaughter's Grammar. The grammar we use in this Seminary is Ladvocats', but no sooner was yours perceived than every one was delighted with it—so much so that it has been much more in the hands of my confreres than in mine. Could it be procurred in Paris? They would have written for a supply, but for reprinting it here, as some have proposed—the number of Catholic students, who have leisure to apply themselves to the study of Hebrew in the United States, is not sufficiently great. The plan which we had followed was as nearly as possible, the same as that which your letter afterwards recommended—I observe with very great satisfaction that you have had the kindness to get the Greek Chart copied for me. If you have not yet sent it—Be so good as to direct it to the care of Mr. Mollevault[7] Superieur de la Solitude, à Issy—près Paris—to be left at Seminaire de St. Sulpice—Rue pot de fer No. 17—à Paris He will forward it to me by the first opportunity—As for Tom Errington's letter It is now too old a date to be sent to him—however I will not destroy it—but will keep it ready for the first opportunity—it would not be worth while sending it by the post.—

The hebrew Grammar has Wm. Turner's name on it—I think I recollect him. He was in Syntax when I left Ushaw—the news you gave me of Ushaw and the mission of England were highly interesting to me—I ought to give you some news of the missions of this part of the world. The great obstacle to the extension of the Catholic religion is the want of priests. Methodism and infidelity are rapidly gaining ground; but wherever there is a good and zealous missionary, he fails not to draw many from their errors. The archbishop often asks me, why I do not endeavour to engage you to become yourself, and to induce others to become apostles of these vast regions, in which the harvest is ripe, but exposed to be lost for want of labourers. I tell him that the wants of England are great. He does not deny it. But he observes with truth that the wants of this country are greater, that England begins to [be] pretty well supplied with missionaries, and that a labourer might occasionally be spared for America, and that whilst the indigence of the Mother is relieved, the penury of the Daughter should not be forgotten. He hears his children crying out to him for bread, which he is unable to afford them. The American Youth seem to be but slowly attracted to the Ecclesiastical state. There is too much Apathy in the American character. They are only roused by the sound of Gold or silver. —This was the tocsin which sounded in their ears, when they asserted their independence, and refused to their mother Country their right of taxation—I examine not the justice or injustice of Parliament in taxing an unrepresented body of British subjects. I merely wish to notice that this plea, which has not moved so many millions of British subjects who have lived for more than two Centuries, and do still live, in a state of unjustifiable oppression, that this plea which tho urged and strengthened by many other goading injustices, has not been able to move the Body of British Catholics to acts of disloyalty, operated as an allpowerful spell on the American Character. It is not therefore very surprising that a ministry, in which the prospect of wealth is not great, though comfort and a respectable sufficiency are certain, should not have sufficient charms to allure them. Let us hope however that the number of Candidates for the service of the Sanctuary will increase—We have the consolation of seeing that it does not decrease. We are nine in the Seminary—of these five were Protestants. One of them Mr. Daubert was a protestant minister—educated at the University of Giessen near Fuldes, [*sic*] and afterwards professor at Franckfort, [*sic*] where he was converted about three years ago—he spent two years in the Seminary at Strasburg, and arrived in Baltimore about six months since—He is a young man of whom great expectations are found—His conversion drew upon him much obloquy; it was attributed to insanity in the public prints—I have not heard for some time back from the Mauritius. The last letter which I received from one of the priests who accompanied Dr. Slater[8] to that Colony, was dated Feby. 4. 1825—two years ago—He informed me that the current of public opinion, which at the period of my departure from the Island (April 1823) was greatly opposed to Dr. Slater, grew daily more and more unfavourable to him. He says—"The Bishop's conduct has ever continued to be the same. The disputes with the Fabrique, others with the Abbé Barré similar to those you witnessed with the Abbé Fiard has [*sic*] never ceased to scandalise & tire out every body" (N.B. These two priests whom my correspondent mentions have been suspended—of the equity of these suspensions I do not pretend to judge—If I may be allowed to judge of the case of the Abbé Barré, by what I know from being present at the circumstances which drew the censures of Church upon the poor old Abbé Fiard, I must confess I should not judge favourably of the charity & prudence of the prelate who makes such a use of that paternal authority of the Church) "a general disgust, he continues, much greater than ever you saw exist against the Bishop has been the consequence; and the Governor, after several severe letters and a final intimation that he would receive no further letters from the Bishop, but through the Secretary's Office, has insinuated to him the propriety and necessity of quitting the Colony. I can only see one obstacle to this departure which are his debts: Unless the Government retain one half or a part of his appointments. All this news comes to me from a distance, removed as I fortunately am from the great focus of confusion and discontent—as to the details I am ignorant of them. The Bishop occasionally takes a run down to Flacy & on these occasions he comes to say his mass here, & as he is at a loss what house to go to (for he has quarelled with every one) he comes and asks me for a breakfast. The Abbé Barré left the other day for Bourbon. The Abbés Fauchon & Deroullede have also been on the point of leaving, I suppose the prospect of the Bishop's [removal(?)] encourages them still to remain—"(N.B. I am unacquainted with the Abbé Fauchon but I know very well the Abbé Dourellede—he studied at St. Sulpice, where he edified every one by his piety—he did the same at the Isle of France where I knew him—his indefatigable zeal, & fervent piety merit the highest encomiums—) "The Abbé Charlot has taken his final abode on his estates at Grandport—all this is very unfortunate. It is to be hoped that time will recall all things, to a little order—" He then expresses a wish that a few good active priests would go to the Colony—after which he speaks of Mr. Colyar who is curate of Pamplemousses—As you spoke to me of him, I shall transcribe the passage that relates to him—You will see by it that every one however mild his character, however retired and unoffensive his life, may be, has his trials. Whilst we are in the world we must go through the ordeal. "I learnt the other day that Mervin (the Commandant du quartier) had had the impudence to assemble the Notables, and had succeeded in making them sign several ridiculous and unfounded heads of accusation against Colyar —This Mervin you may recollect is a very vain and meddling silly fellow, who never thinks he rises sufficient importance unless he is making a noise." He afterwards mentions Mr. Picco—lomini—but he only says one word of him—that he goes on the same as ever— How is that—you will ask me—Well—he says his mass & performs his other duties, such as hearing confessions, performing burial services etc. etc, as to the rest—pays a visit to his friends & acquaintance, complains of his health and keeps himself quiet—except sometimes giving some one a scolding—for he sometimes though not often gives way to a little warmth of temper—He is not happy—the troubles and disputes of the Bishop, in which he got involved occasionally, for it is utterly impossible to avoid it—disappointed him of the tranquillity which he had flattered himself he should enjoy in the Isle of France. He has not sufficent energy of mind to bear with a little trouble—he easily yields to melancholy, and is not sufficiently laborious to seek for a remedy by applying to study. He is sorry that he did not remain in England—but as for returning thither he used to say he was too old to think of it—With Italy he has completely quarrelled—you might as well talk to him of going to China, as of revisiting his native land—

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[7] Gabriel-Etienne-Joseph Mollevault, S.S. (1774-1854) was superior of the Sulpician solitude from 1819 to 1837.

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[8] Edward Bede Slater, O.S.B., was consecrated as Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius at Rome on June 18, 1818, and remained in that post until 1832.

Do you know whether Dr. Poynter[9] is labouring to have Dr. Slater removed? I once heard something of it—Such is the news I have been able to give of the Isle of France.

It is time I should think of bringing this long and tedious letter to a conclusion—otherwise I shall outtire your patience.— The good Archbishop of Baltimore is not very well—For a considerable time past he has suffered very much from a severe cold, not to say a commencement of Asthma. A few nights since after retiring to bed he found great difficulty in breathing. This difficulty encreased to such a degree, that he was obliged to call in medical aid: Great apprehensions were felt by the persons who attended him lest he should be suffocated. However the doctor said when he arrived, that the crisis was over—he is come to enjoy a few days repose in the Seminary. Before I conclude let me beg of you not to mention openly in the College, what I have said of Dr. Slater—As his conduct cannot be a subject of edification to the students it is as well that they should remain ignorant of it. I have mentioned it in order to inform you of the state of things in the Island of Mauritius, and also that you may inform Dr. Gradwell [10] of it, though he is probably acquainted with everything that concerns Dr. Slater—you may mention it likewise to any other person, who, you think, ought not to be ignorant of these matters. It would have been happy for Dr. Slater and happy for the Island of Mauritius, that he had never been raised to the Episcopal dignity. Religion has suffered exceedingly in this and other Colonies both in the East and in the West from the conduct of priests—But when Bishops, quos oportet irreprehensibilis esse, much more than priests, when Bishops are not a subject of edification to their flocks, who can calculate the injury which the cause of religion sustains? Pray did you ever hear anything of Dr. Henry Hobart,[11] protestant Bishop of New York, whilst he was in Rome—He went to Europe on account of his health. But it was general opinion that his real motive was to become a Catholic. Unfortunately however for him he recovered his health, and returned last year to New York. After his [*sic*] preached and published a sermon, in which he took a comparative view of Protestant Episcopal Church of England, and that of America. But as to the reports of his intending to pass over to the Catholics, he made not the most distant allusion to them. Dr. Barber [12] formerly a protestant minister, now a catholic priest, whose father declined the Episcopacy of New York & became a catholic, & by so doing made room for the present

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[9] William Poynter (1762–1827) was Vicar Apostolic of the London District from 1812 to his death in 1827, having been consecrated as titular Bishop of Halia in 1803.

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[10] Robert Gradwell (1777–1833) was Rector of the English College, Rome, from 1818 to his consecration in 1828 as titular Bishop of Lydda and coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, James Bramston, whom he succeeded on the latter's death in July, 1836. Gradwell acted as Roman agent for Archbishop Maréchal during his years at the English College.

[11] John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, never became a Catholic; he was in Europe from September, 1823, to the autumn of 1825.

[12] Virgil Barber, S.J. (1782-1847), son of the convert Congregational and later Protestant Episcopal minister, Daniel Barber (1756-1834), had become a Catholic in 1816, two years before his father.

Bishop Dr. Hobart, was before his conversion, on terms of the greatest intimacy with Dr. Hobart and knows him intus et in cute—This gentleman says that Dr. Hobart is too well acquainted with the doctrine of the catholic church, not to be internally convinced of its truth, and that he himself is fully persuaded that, if not before, at least on his deathbed, the poor Bishop will seek a reconciliation with his true mother. Let us pray that it may be so. It was some time ago publicly asserted in print that Dr. Hobart had said "that the protestant was the more commodious religion to live in, but the Catholic the surer to die in;" and I do not at this moment recollect whether he was not called upon to deny the charge.

If a catholic Bishop were under similar suspicions of wishing to go over to the Protestants he would be bound to make the most public, solemn, and explicit disavowal of any such intention—But the profound silence of this man, and other circumstances which afford strong presumptive evidence against him, have induced a lawyer of this city to say that no court of justice would require stronger evidence on any case than that which arises from the circumstances, and from the sermon of Dr. Hobart. We cannot say so much of the friendly dispositions of Dr. White,[13] Bishop of Philadelphia, or of Dr. Kemp,[14] Bishop of Maryland for he is not styled Bishop of Baltimore—The former of these Dr. White, is very virulent against us. His long screwed up face has acquired him the appelation of the Saint. He published, some years ago, an Explanation of the Cathechism, in which falsehood and misrepresentation afforded him arguments against our religion, obscurity and unintelligible phraseology were the best defense of his own. Dr. Kemp, of this city is a mere cypher—his very enmity is favourable to us—For his ignorance, and incapacity, lead his malevolence into acts of folly, of which Protestants are ashamed, and of which catholics do not fail to take advantage—Not a few months since, he, together with about fifteen or twenty protestant ministers of every sect and denomination published the "Internal Evidences" of the infamous Blanco White[15]

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[13] William White (1748–1836), first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, had published *Lectures on the Catechism* in 1813.

[14] James Kemp (1764–1827) was the second Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maryland.

[15] Blanco White (1775–1841), born in Spain of an Irish father and a Spanish mother, was ordained a priest in 1800 and later left the Church and wrote extensively against Catholicism.

(with which you are doubtless acquainted) and accompanied the publication by an advertisement in the newspaper, in which they strongly recommended the work to their flocks, as a work that would reveal to the world the true character of that extraordinary system of religion called Popery—the Protestants are ashamed of this conduct—It drew an able and ample refutation of the work from the pen of Dr. England,[16] Bishop of Charleston, in a series of letters published in the "Catholic Miscellany"—a paper published under the inspection of Dr. England—one of the Gentlemen of this Seminary had commenced a refutation of the book, but on learning that Dr. England had undertaken it, he discontinued his, both because he thought it useless to refute it twice, and because he preferred Dr. Englands plan to that which he had adopted—Dr. White of Philadelphia of whom I spoke above, republished the book of Common prayer, in which he made many alterations,—among others, he left out the form of absolution etc which is prescribed in the genuine book of Common prayer—

As I have spoken of the Protestant Bishop of Philadelphia, I must not omit speaking of a much more worthy Character, Dr. Cornwell[17] [*sic*]—the Catholic Bishop of the same city—This good Bishop has at last had the Consolation of seeing the troubles, occasioned by the unfortunate Hogan,[18] nearly pacified. I say nearly because there still exists in his flock, a strong leaven, which, were any imprudence committed, would excite a more dangerous, because, a second fermentation—The Church which Hogan in conjunction with the Churchwardens had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Bishop, has been restored to him. It may appear singular how this man could succeed in keeping possession of the Church which was the Bishop's Cathedral—The whole mystery is this—By the Laws of these states, the Congregation, that is to say, the Pewholders choose churchwardens who in their turn pay the pastor. For the church is considered as the property of the Congregation; consequently they can prevent any obnoxious person from living upon it.

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[16] John England (1786–1842), first Bishop of Charleston, founded the *United States Catholic Miscellany* on June 5, 1822.

[17] Henry Conwell (c. 1745–1842) had been consecrated on September 24, 1820, as second Bishop of Philadelphia.

[18] William Hogan (d. 1848), an Irish-born priest, had come to the United States in 1819 and after a stormy career left the Church and married.

Hence a refractory clergyman ingratiates himself with the people, he may set his Bishop at Defiance. This is the way I understand in which things are managed among the various sects—Hogan gained the Churchwardens of St. Mary's in Philadelphia: and the Bishop found himself deprived of his Cathedral. It is now restored—The Clergy of Philadelphia has set on foot a Society for the defence of religion; of which I perceive that the great supporter of Hogan & of Hoganism has been chosen vice president. From this I conclude that this Gentleman, whose money gave him considerable influence, has returned to his duty and that the reciprocal animosity, which existed between him and the Clergy, has subsided.[19] When Dr. England went to Charleston, seeing that the power placed in the hands of the Churchwardens was too great, he begged of them to give up their office, and to yield the full and entire possession of the Church to him. On their demurring, he frankly told them, that he would make no use of their Church until he was absolute master of it, and that, if they persisted in their refusal, he would undertake the building of another. They yielded—Thus his prudence and firmness have cut off the root of insubordination. In the state of Maryland, the Churchwardens of their own accord obtained from the Legislature, the enactment of a law circumscribing their power over the Churches. Thus, whilst a share in the administration of the temporals, make the congregation take a greater interest in the Church, the narrow limits assigned to their authority, secure to the Bishop the unimpeded exercising of Episcopal jurisdiction.

I have written to you at much greater length than I intended, or than I expected to be able to do. For by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances I have had a little more leisure than usual. I recollect scribbling a few lines to you last Whitsunday, at the Archbishop's which I sent to Mr. L'Abbé Martial, who [was] just on the point of setting off to Rome—Did you ever receive it? The opportunity which I now profit, in order to write to you, is now offered by Mr. Resé[20] who is on his way from the Diocese of Dr. Fenwick [21] Bishop of Cincinnati to Rome. This Gentleman is a British subject, being from the electorate of Hanover. He was educated in the College of Propaganda—the English College, for which he was intended not being at that time of his arrival in Rome, in readiness—He is acquainted with Dr. Gradwell. You will doubtless have many opportunities of seeing him, and will be able to have from him a full account of the state of things, in this portion of the globe.

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[19] Larkin was probably referring here to Mathew Carey (1760–1839), wealthy publicist of Philadelphia, who had at first sided with the rebellious lay trustees of Saint Mary's Cathedral, but later changed over and became a stout defender of episcopal authority.

[20] Frederick Résé (1791–1871), German-born missionary in the Diocese of Cincinnati from 1824 until his consecration on October 6, 1833, as first Bishop of Detroit.

Now allow me to say a few words of myself—I am yet only in minor orders, but our Superior Dr Tessier [22] told me some time ago that I should be promoted to holy Orders before our vacations (which commence on the 16th of July, and terminate on the first Monday of September,) in order to be ordained priest during them. I entreat you therefore not to forget me when you offer up the holy Sacrifice, and to recommend me to the prayers of Dr. Gradwell, Mr. Gillow,[23] and all of the inmates of the English College. I beg you to remember me particularly to Mr. G. Errington,[24] to whose prayers I commend myself the more, because he was [the]only person in whose *favour* I ever exercised the power of the Limits [25] when at Ushaw—Let this be his revenge—to pray for me—a revenge worthy of a Christian and of him—

How are things going on at Rome? How is your brother at Madrid—I hope that he still enjoys the same prosperity, and the same esteem, from the account of which I derived so much pleasure, when I saw you at Versailles.

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[21] Edward D. Fenwick, O.P. (1768–1832) was first Bishop of Cincinnati.

[22] Jean-Marie Tessier, S.S. (1758–1840) served as second superior of the Sulpicians in the United States from 1810 to 1829.

[23] Richard Gillow (d. 1867) was ordained in 1821 and soon after became Vice Rector of the English College, Rome, where he remained until 1825 and then went as a professor to Ushaw until 1837. Cf. Wiseman's letter to him from Turin on November 5, 1824, in Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 49–50.

[24] George Errington (1804–1886), a close of Wiseman and Vice Rector of the English College, Rome, during Wiseman's presidency; consecrated on July 25, 1851, as first Bishop of Plymouth and in April, 1855, promoted to be coadjutor to Wiseman in the See of Westminster; their differences led to Errington being deprived of the coadjutorship in 1860 by Pius IX.

[25] The expression "power of the limits" was explained by Father William V. Smith in a letter of January 17, 1957, in which he said: "The Philosophers at Ushaw have always had to a certain extent supervision over the younger students, commonly called "Little Lads" as opposed to "Big Lads." The only punishment they could inflict was of limiting them to the House for three days so that for those three days the boy concerned was not allowed in the grounds, etc. and could play no games, etc. outside. . . . "

Be so good as to present most respectful Compliments to Dr. Gradwell & to Mr. Gillow, & to remember me most kindly to all my old Ushaw acquaintance

Believe me, Dear Nicholas
Your most sincere & faithful Friend

J. LARKIN.

I forgot to mention the Consecration of Mr. Dubois,[26] for the Bishopric of New York which took place on the last Sunday of last October—Some attempts were made by illdesigning persons to excite a disaffection to him among the Irish, attributing his election to French interest—But the upright conduct of the Rev. Mr. Power,[27] administrator of the Diocese, now Vicar General, and the appearance of Mr. Dubois, prevented these hostile designs succeeding. Mr. Dubois was formerly a Sulpitian, and President of the College of St. Marys in Baltimore—he was appointed Superior of the Seminary & President of another College founded at Emmettsberg [*sic*]—about fifty miles distant from Baltimore. You will probably have heard that Mr. Garnier [28] has been appointed Superior General of the Company of St. Sulpice, Mr. Duclaux [29] having at length obtained leave to retire in consequence of his age and infirmities—

Excuse blunders for I have written in great haste—Once more Adieu.

Endorsed: Recd by Mr. Rese May 30th 1827.

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[26] John Dubois (1764–1842) was first President of Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, from 1808 until his consecration on October 29, 1826, as third Bishop of New York.

[27] John Power (1792–1849), Irish-born priest, came to the United States in 1819 and for the next thirty years was one of the most prominent priests of the Diocese of New York.

[28] Antoine Garnier, S.S. (1762–1845) was among the original band of French Sulpicians who came to Baltimore in July, 1791; he was Superior General of the Society of St. Sulpice from 1826 to his death.

[29] Antoine du Pouget Duclaux, S.S. (1749-1827) was the successor of André Emery (d. 1811) and the predecessor of Garnier in the office of Superior General of the Sulpicians.

To the Rev. Mr. Wiseman
Revd Sir

I was truely delighted to [have] recd. the last letter of Dr. Gradwell terminated by a paragraph so interesting as this you had the goodness to write to me. I surely did not forget you. But I supposed that, since many years, you were labouring in the Missions of England. I rejoice that you are still in Rome, & that besides the services you render to your celebrated college, you apply to the study of Oriental Languages. It is truly lamentable to see with what ardour Protestant Universities devote a part of their time to the acquisition of that knowledge & How much it is neglected among us. Observing the frightful abuse the erudite men of Germany & of England make now of the oriental languages to subvert the authority of the Holy Scripture, I would wish young men of talents in every Seminary should study them to oppose the harmful effects which the writings of these men produce in christian Society. In my Seminary, that important Study is not neglected. The good & aimable Mr. Larkin is very fond of it. He knows Hebrew pretty well now; Lately he has applied to the German. I told him of your present literary pursuits. He rejoiced at the news. He intends to write to you soon. As he is delighted with America, you may expect an invitation to come over here & spend your life together. Whenever you have occasion of writing to the Rev. Mr. White & Guillate (?) tell them I send them my best Compliments & Blessing. Pray for me Rev. & Dear Sir who remain with singular esteem & consideration.

Your etc.
✠ Amb. Arch. Balt.

Philadelphia July 30th 1837

Rev. & dear Sir.

In the absence of my brother[30] from this city I received your letter accompanying that of young Gibson, which I shall deliver to him on his return to the city in September. In the meantime I take the advantage of the departure of the amiable youth who will have the honor of presenting this letter to you, to send you the American edition of your admirable Lectures on Science & Religion,[31] together with a few copies of a reprint of your letters to Mr. Poynder.

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[30] Francis Patrick Kenrick (1796–1863) was consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia on June 6, 1830, succeeded to the see in April, 1842, and was promoted to be sixth Archbishop of Baltimore in 1851.

Allow me Rev. Sir to express my satisfaction at the philosophic and powerful "Lectures on the Catholic Church" which, I trust, ere long will appear at this side of the Atlantic in a book form. Your lectures on the Scripture proofs of the Holy Eucharist make me anxiously expect the forthcoming volume of that work. I regret that the multiplied quotations from the oriental writers will render this work less likely to be soon reprinted here, as the catholics of this country are not generally prepared to profit by the profound erudition it unveils.

I must candidly tell you that the reading of your various writings has revived a desire I once was possessed of of acquiring an acquaintance with oriental literature, and of using my little influence to have Hebrew taught in our Seminaries. If a spare copy of your Horae Syriacae be at your disposal and that a convenient opportunity offer itself for sending it to me, I should receive as a great treasure, not only for its intrinsic worth, but also for the source whence I obtained it. Pardon, dear Sir, the liberty taken in thus trespassing on your valuable time, and permit me to commend myself & our infant Church to your prayers.

With the most profound esteem
I have the honor to be etc.

P. R. Kenrick.

Rev. N. Wiseman D.D.

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[31] The publications of Wiseman mentioned by Kenrick were: *Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion* 2 vols., (London, 1836); *Letter to John Poynder, Esq.* (London, 1836); *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church* 2 vols., (London, 1836); *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved from Scripture* (London, 1836); and *Horae Syriacae* (Rome, 1827).

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

A History of the Catholic Church. By Ludwig Hertling, S.J. Translated from the German by Anselm Gordon Biggs, O.S.B. (Westminister: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 643. $7.50.)

So vast a history in so short a space! Fortunately, Father Hertling was not discouraged by the challenge. His book seems to be the result of long experience as a lecturer at the Gregorian University in Rome, and within the frame of emphasis he has set for himself, the pastoral mission or "the Church in her task of saving souls," he shows for the most part sure control of a dismaying mass of material. His aim has been "to provide a readable account . . . without any critical apparatus." Disarming, this, to the professional historian or scholar. One must appraise the work, then, primarily in terms of its value for the intended audience, undergraduate students of church history and the educated laity, as the translator observes. Such an audience will find here important statistical and geographical information, a notable contribution, as well as the political background for the growth of the Church. There is little of social, economic, or intellectual history. Popes, kings, saints, and sinners dominate the scene. Perhaps this should make for dramatic history.

Two statements in this regard buried in the text of the book indicate, far better than anything in the author's preface, his approach, in this instance at least, to his subject. They account, also, for the strength and weakness of his presentation. E.g., ". . . the important thing, however, is not drama, but fact" (p. 277). The established, and re-established, facts are here in solid array and form the basis for frequent re-evaluation of popular misconceptions and of the misjudgments of "profane historians." Especially in the period of the early Church, the treatment of such subjects as communion with the See of Rome, the persecutions and "catacomb Christianity," sanctity in the primitive Church, the great revolts of the fifth century, is refreshing. One encounters stimulating, if only because sometimes debatable, interpretations, e.g., Avignon, the Great Western Schism, the "Age of the Borgias," reformation and restoration, the Jesuits, and modern nationalism. But often the facts come in such simple and staccato succession that complexity and interrelation, nuance and mystery, essential elements in the historical drama, are lost. One must read his Hughes along with his Hertling.

Lost, too, at times is the panorama. "History is made by individual men" (p. 371). Antithetical as it may seem to the previous quotation, in the matter of the dramatic quality of history, this likewise leads to oversimplification. In context it is a comment on the Protestant Revolt, and here, as elsewhere, long-range influences, the ferment of ideas, social, economic, and religious movements, are too readily dismissed. There are perceptive and finely drawn biographical sketches, indeed, but also on occasion merely "the excellent Seripando" and "the evil Ferrante."

The translator has contributed to the merit of the book. Father Biggs has corrected errors of fact in the German text, added a few helpful footnotes, and rendered the whole into graceful English. He has also expanded an originally very brief treatment of the American Church, brought up to date the pontificate of Pius XII, indicated late liturgical developments, and provided a short bibliography. For the English-speaking undergraduate and layman he has done valuable service if this popular history stimulates, as it should, further interest and more profound investigation.

James A. Reynolds

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Church and Culture in the Middle Ages. Volume I, *350-814.* By Gustav Schnürer. Translated by George J. Undreiner. (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 574. $7.50.)

The first German edition of this work was published in Paderborn in 1924, and it has gone through two further German editions in 1927 and 1936. The present English translation follows Professor Schnürer's death by some fifteen years, though French and Dutch translations had appeared earlier. None of the works of this former professor of the University of Fribourg is widely known among American scholars. *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* is not listed in the Paetow *Guide,* nor has it been reviewed in any of the well known American historical periodicals that give attention to the mediaeval field. Monsignor Undreiner, who studied under Professor Schnürer as a doctoral candidate, has undertaken this work of translation "almost as an act of filial piety," and at the same time with the obvious hope of making it better known to American scholars. He is to be commended for bringing it thus to our attention, as well as for his smooth rendering of the German text.

This translation includes only the first of the three volumes of the German edition, the one devoted to the earliest part of the middle ages. Professor Schnürer in undertaking the task acknowledges his debt to Frédéric Ozanam and to Godfrey Kürth as inspiration for the general theme of the interrelations between the Church and the intellectual progress of mankind. He traces these contacts from the time of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine to the death of Charlemagne, and includes an enlightening chapter on the problems of Germanic Arianism and the tendencies toward the formation of barbarian national churches which were eventually overcome. Especially fine are the chapters on the Irish and the Roman Benedictine missionaries, and on the work of St. Boniface. In this history of the Church of the early mediaeval period the social implications as well as the actual transmission of ancient culture are kept in the foreground.

The thesis constantly reiterated in this volume is that the classical, pagan Graeco-Roman culture had to die before the basis could be laid for western European culture. This latter was accomplished by the Church in the process of evangelizing the Germanic barbarians. Great stress is laid on the cultural transmissions of the Graeco-Roman heritage by Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, a work that the barbarian Christians of continental lands were incapable of accomplishing. It is the author's contention that it was especially through the combination of a learned Anglo-Saxon missionary ardor and the direction of the papacy which these missionaries so readily accepted that the basis for western European civilization was finally laid.

Schnürer develops this thesis in a most scholarly fashion, and yet does not overlay his work with pedantic details. He writes simply and with great understanding. It is always the significance of a literary figure that he stresses, though enough attention is paid to biographical and bibliographical details to support the general points he is making. It is quite definitely a social as well as a cultural history of the mediaeval Church at which he aims. In addition to the footnote citations, Monsignor Undreiner reproduces the bibliography of the third German edition to which he has added under asterisk certain later bibliographical items which he thought might be of interest to English readers.

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Sancti Columbani Opera. Edited by G. S. M. Walter. [Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, Volume II.] (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1957. Pp. xciv, 247. 42s.)

This volume, the second in a series so auspicuously begun with the *Life and Writings of Bishop Patrick* of Dublin [cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* XLII, July, 1956) 178-179], is a somewhat altered form of the editor's doctoral dissertation at the University of St. Andrews in 1953. The work consists of introduction, the letters, sermons, monastic rule, and poems ascribed to St. Columbanus. The spurious works and indices, both special and general, are in the appendix. On the palaeographical side he has had the help of Dr. Bischoff of Munich, and Dr. Ludwig Bieler of University College, Dublin, has written the section on the text tradition and Latinity. If the text of the letters varies from the standard edition of Gundlach in *MGH* it is because a certain number of characteristically Hibernian spellings have been retained. Likewise, in the *Regula Coenobialis* and the *Paenitentiale* earlier edited by Seebass [*ZK* XV (1895), 366 ff.; XIV (1894), 430 ff.] some emendations have been made. On the whole the present edition attempts to follow the manuscript tradition in a conservative fashion. The English translation is printed *en regard* as is the policy in this series.

A very full bibliography of ten pages is given (pp. lxxxiii-xcii). The general part at least appears to contain some mediocre items whereas one should be glad to exchange some of the titles for some annotation on the more worthwhile books. Dubious writings are relegated to the appendix: the *Epistola de solemnitatibus* consists of a short treatise on the Jewish observances, especially as they affected the paschal question. Both Migne and the editors of *CSEL* printed this among Jerome's works and it remained for Gundlach to claim its Columban authorship. An interesting tract, *De VIII vitiis principalibus,* recalls Cassian in its enumeration of eight deadly sins, whereas Gregory the Great made seven the traditional number. *De saltu lunae,* an astronomical treatise, recalls the Easter controversy in which Columbanus played such an important part.

St. Columbanus' knowledge of classical and patristic writers was very good and he was well acquainted with authors who were not being read on the continent from the sixth to the eighth centuries. An examination, however brief, of his writings shows that for him at least the part played by the Irish in the preservation of classical letters was not exaggerated. In regard to Greek and Hebrew learning in Ireland at this period, we become more and more dubious as time goes on. Such few words of these two languages that we find in Hiberno-Latin works could well have come from glossaries of the type to be found in Goetz's *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum.* From Isidore's *Etymologies* we could cull quite a few Greek and Hebrew words, enough certainly to sprinkle through one's own compositions to give the superficial appearance of deep learning. As for his Latinity, Columbanus grew up in Ireland and formed his Latin style there. His Latin did not suffer from Irish syntax as it noticeably did in the later compilation of Irish saints' lives written in Latin. It is essentially Late Latin that he writes and the syntax of the verb in particular is such which marks the transition from Latin to Romance, possibly because of his long sojourn in Gaul and Italy. But now I must say with Columbanus for this overly long notice—*date quaeso veniam meae loquacitati ac procacitati.*

Robert T. Meyer

The Catholic University of America

Alexandre III: Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre. By Marcel Pacaut. (L'Église et l'état au moyen age. Volume XI) (Paris: J. Vrin, 1956. Pp. 416)

M. Pacaut's work, a *docteur-ès-lettres* dissertation of the University of Paris, is an important addition to a collection known for its scholarship since Arquillière assumed its direction in 1930. Aside from the recognized excellence of the collection itself, a study of the concept of papal power in Alexander III (1159-1181) demands serious and careful attention. Roland Bandinelli occupied an almost singular position in the history of the mediaeval papacy. Eminent professor of canon law at Bologna, one of the first commentators on Gratian, cardinal and chancellor of the Roman Church, and finally pope, he was intimately involved in some of the most critical happenings of his time. He was a part of the Barbarossa controversy, the Becket affair, the Victorine schism, the development of the French monarchy under Louis VII, and the invasion of Ireland, not to mention the rise of the mediaeval universities and the struggle for free education. On the level of ability and sanctity he was one of the greatest figures in mediaeval history. For what it may be worth, Voltaire named him the man "who did most for the human race" during his age.

Pacaut is interested in the political thought of Alexander and his program for the spiritual peace of Europe. He discusses his early training, his first contacts with political realities, his work for the freedom and defense of the Church, his dedication to the distinct rights of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and his ceaseless repetition that the common good demanded their constant co-operation. In his last three chapters he makes an attempt to trace the possible sources of the thought of the pope in the Scriptures, the fathers, Gratian, the canonists of the time, and finally in contemporary theologians, especially Bernard and Hugh of Saint Victor. This is a new and fresh view of Alexander III which corrects many of the errors in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century authors from whom scholars have been obliged to draw their information up to now. Excellent use has been made of the manuscript collections of Paris, the Vatican, and especially Siena. Through the entire narrative, the importance of Alexander III to a better understanding of the thought of Clement III, Celestine III, and even Innocent III becomes increasingly evident. The legislation of Bandinelli stands second only to that of Innocent III in the Gregorian *Decretals* of 1234.

For all its excellence the work still stands at half-way in the complete formulation of the papal position regarding the relations between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Middle Ages. Pacaut is often too hasty in striving for the hard and fast formula which would fit all the problems which Alexander faced. He is more inclined to approach his study from the legal angle and find answers in juridically acceptable formulae, rather than remain content with a simple statement of the *ad hoc* solutions made as problems arose. He inclines at times to argue toward a kind of papal program for temporal power which is not required by the documents. If there is no clear cut body of principles which govern all aspects of the mediaeval feudal law and scholars are forced to work with local custom and with solutions *sur place,* this is doubly true of the papal position in the Christian society of the twelfth century. There simply was no developed papal system for handling the various disputes with the civil power. These were to be worked out in a judicial discussion based on equity as the problems presented themselves.

If at some time we are able to work toward a completely satisfying insight into the legal position of the popes and civil rulers of mediaeval society, it will never have been formulated (whatever the greater clarity of the legalistic solution in theory) without a profound consideration of prescription, the plodding common law, the rich concept of Christian justice, and very especially a sensitive appreciation of the whole idea of the Christian commonwealth, ideas which Pacaut states but does not develop in sufficient detail, though they are of the very essence of Alexander's thought.

Mediaeval thinkers held to the distinct character of civil and ecclesiastical rule, but they also insisted that in the Christian society of the time the common good demanded their constant co-operation. In two splendid chapters (III and IV), Pacaut shows the imperative need of such co-operation that the common good be preserved. History stands in eloquent testimony to the ruin that swept society when they failed to do so. The moment such co-operation failed to exist, and it certainly failed on the side of the Hohenstaufen emperors, there was no end to the evil that plagued society. The projection of the papacy into politics at all arose out of a mortal threat to its very existence and to the very life of the Church which the pope was by law obliged to defend. Nor was this threat some verbal invective shouted across a tea cup. It was backed by armies, imperial force, and a ruthless disregard for the rights of even the most revered figures of Christendom.

The papal insistence on the rights and the freedom of the Church made for a much better state of justice in mediaeval society than a grovelling acquiescence to the uncontrolled pretensions of certain civil authorities. Too often the useless legalism of the lawyers, civil and canonical, as to which power was supreme beclouds our understanding of the true papal intent on the level of administrative practice. The best argument against those who contend that the popes spent sleepless nights trying to evolve systems for encroaching on temporal rulers is to list just how much territory they annexed and just how many cases they took from civil tribunals. Pacaut states these ideas, but he fails to bring them out with the clarity they demand.

Nor does he present sufficiently the mediaeval customary law which underlay so much of the thought of the pope, or the peculiar legal relationship between pope and emperor which was quite different from that between the pope and the ordinary king. He also seems to minimize somewhat the influence of the theologians with their ideas on the *corpus mysticum ecclesiae* which are much closer to the position taken by Alexander than the ideas of some of the canonists. In his treatment of D. XCVI of the *Decretum,* Pacaut sometimes gives the impression that Gratian is expressing his own ideas and not merely listing papal decisions with regard to the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions from the time of Symmachus and Gelasius. Though most of Pacaut's Latin translations are excellent, he should re-check the Bandinelli text (p. 70), the all-important Besançon letter of Adrian IV (p. 97), Hugh of Saint Victor's statement (p. 100), the incomplete translation (p. 256), the too broad translation (p. 349) and that of Bernard's text (p. 380). The author should have completed his page references in the footnotes on pages 100, 155, 195, 226, 325 and 399. He also seems to accept without too much discussion some of the very debatable conclusions of Ullmann, while he relies too much on Schulte who needs serious re-doing.

Whatever the objections, this work is basic and essential to our understanding of the relations between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers during the mediaeval period. It is not the final word on the subject, nor could it be expected to be. It is another in that line of very valuable modern studies which are cutting through the obscurantism of the inadequate work of the past and are preparing the way for a possible final and satisfactory formula. At present, as matters stand, much still remains to be done.

JOHN KEMP

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A History of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, 1283-1311. By C. M. Fraser. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 266. $6.75.)

Antony Bek's appointment to the wealthy and important See of Durham was the recognition of more than twenty years of faithful service to the English crown. While still a young man he had accompanied Prince Edward on crusade. After his return to England he was successively Keeper of the Wardrobe, Constable of the Tower of London, the king's secretary and counsellor, and a trusted diplomatic agent constantly employed on missions abroad. Bek's industry was rewarded by a shower of lucrative benefices and finally crowned by his elevation to Durham, where, in virtue of his palatine jurisdiction, he was, as a contemporary observed, 'king and prince in his diocese.'

The new bishop was not distinguished for pastoral zeal. Since the register of his acts is missing it is, perhaps, not possible to speak with absolute assurance, but the surviving records of his activities indicate that for the remainder of his life his best energies were devoted to the service of his sovereign and to the enlargement of his own authority in the diocese and the palatinate. To Bek's contemporaries his outstanding characteristic was his 'magnanimity.' To the modern reader it appears that he had more than a share of worldly ambition. It was his aim to extend and to consolidate the quasi-regalian status which he enjoyed in his diocese and to assert his practical independence of his metropolitan, and in this he was largely successful; but his attempt to assert a similar authority over the monastery of Durham in virtue of his office of abbot was the occasion of a long and bitter conflict which almost brought him to ruin.

The quarrel began in 1300 with Bek's attempt to visit the convent. It resulted immediately in a shower of mutual excommunications and a blockade of the monastery which lasted for four months. Before peace was finally made some ten years later the bishop had been suspended by the pope, threatened with imprisonment by the king, and twice deprived of his palatinate. Furthermore, he had been obliged to risk the enmity of Edward I by his frequent appeals to Rome to defend his cause. The story of this conflict, a notorious example of that inordinate passion for litigation which distinguished the Church in England at the time, is told here with a wealth of detail by Dr. Fraser; and if the story is unedifying it is also an illuminating commentary on ecclesiastical life and politics in fourteenth-century England.

Yet, oddly enough, the monks of Durham later venerated Bek as a saint, a recognition, the author suggests, of the bishop's great ambitions for the glory of the church of Durham, as well as other more personal qualities, "his serene self-confidence, his personal frugality and his chastity." And, in the great crisis of his career, Bek stood firm for spiritual principles. His frequent recourse to the papal court in spite of Edward's intense opposition to appeals to Rome, showed that he placed obedience to the pope above service to the king; and it is surely significant that Archbishop Winchelsey warmly commended the bishop to Boniface VIII for the counsel and support which Bek had afforded him in his struggle for the defence of papal authority in England. If Bek appears in this capable study as more the politician than the priest, he was yet no mere curialist. Dr. Fraser's scholarly researches do much to vindicate the contemporary description of the great bishop as "the most valiant clerk in Christendom!"

GERARD CULKIN

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China and the Cross. A Survey of Missionary History. By Columba Cary-Elwes, O.S.B. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1957. Pp. xi., 323. $3.95).

I took up this volume with considerable scepticism. It seemed presumptuous to pretend to tell in less than 300 pages the story of Christian missionary activity in China from the seventh century until today. *Veni, legi, vici!* My scepticism has turned to respect. The author—who is prior of the Priory of Saint Mary and Saint Louis in Saint Louis—set out to give us a bird's-eye view rather than a detailed study. This he has succeeded admirably in doing.

This is not a book for the specialist who is not likely to learn anything from its pages that he does not already know. It is rather for the general reader who will discover that the history of Christianity in China is never dull in fact nor in Dom Columba's telling. It is also a book for the student of China and her affairs, domestic and foreign, whose understanding will be severely handicapped without some knowledge of the repeated efforts that have been made to Christianize China. This book will initiate him into such knowledge and should inspire in him a respect for the efforts themselves.

The history of Christianity in China divides itself neatly into four periods: 1) The Nestorian saga, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, with later and quite obscure traces; 2) the Franciscan epoch, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, centering upon the heroic figure of John of Montecorvino, Archbishop of Peking, and leaving no traces; 3) the Jesuit age, from the death of St. Francis Xavier in 1552 to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773; 4) the modern period, which Dom Columba reckons from 1839 to 1949. These natural divisions make up the four main sections of Dom Columba's book. To them he has prefixed a chapter on the legend that St. Thomas the Apostle introduced Christianity into China, and added an epilogue which sketches the tragic developments which have accompanied communist rule since 1949. The section on modern times includes a survey of Protestant missionary activity.

More space is devoted to the Jesuit age than to any other period. This is as it should be, for this was the period of greatest achievement, when the Catholic faith, its prestige assured by the extraordinary accomplishments of Ricci, Schall, Verbiest, and others close to the imperial throne, was established in every province of the empire. The bright hopes of these years were dashed to pieces by the bitter tragedy of the rites controversy. Dom Columba tells this story with restraint and objectivity. Extreme partisans will not like his conclusions, but it will be difficult for anyone who has carefully studied the voluminous record to disagree with his judgment that Charles Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch and papal legate, whose "behavior, once he set foot on Chinese soil, could scarcely have been more calculated to embitter the quarrel and alienate the Emperor," was himself "the worst enemy of peace and a wise settlement." Following the text are four appendices, twelve pages of bibliography, and a well prepared index.

GEORGE H. DUNNE

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The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries. By Peter Brock. (The Hague: Mouton and Co, Publishers. 1957. Pp. 302. f.24.)

The hundred years that followed the fateful burning of John Hus at the Council of Constance might be called the most decisive in the early history of Bohemia. During this tangled century were waged the wars, military and ideological, that hastened its growth to nationhood, and while there is a considerable literature that describes and analyses the import of these conflicts, a language barrier has kept this wealth from a large number of historians, forcing them to accept an oversimplified account of the Hussite movement. In the abbreviated story the revolt is usually presented as a patriotic action having its origins in a stubborn insistence upon Communion under both species as a matter of doctrinal as well as liturgical principle, and finding its first strength in the unexpected success of the blind general Žižka who outwitted the crusading armies of Sigismund with field maneuvers that continue to confound military strategists to this day. Domestic quarreling between the Taborites and several groups of reactionaries later weakened the movement until it was finally absorbed into the more spectacular rebellion of Martin Luther and the subsequent series of German wars.

Such an inadequate version hints at the multiple social and political displacements that were transpiring, but until the appearance of this book, there has been no fair appraisal in English of the conceptual patterns that guided their development. Here at last can be found not only a concise narrative of the rise and fall of the Unity of Czech Brethren but also a genealogy of their doctrine from the fore-runner Petr Chelčický to Brother Lucáš who a century later tried by compromise to save the Unity now crippled with schism and confusion.

Much space in the volume has been assigned to the exposition of the writings of Chelčický, which is particularly rewarding since he is the village philosopher who supplied the theoretical foundation for the Unity when it broke from Rome in 1457-1458, and from the official Utraquist church a decade later Chelčický was a sincere dreamer who wanted to better the condition of the serfs by establishing a new equality and social harmony through what he believed was a closer observance of New Testament principles. But his effort miscarried because his doctrine was essentially primitivist like that of the Waldensians and Lollards before him and like the theories of the leaders of religious revolt in later times. Primitivism being a corridor of thought that leads backward demands an unconditional return to the simplicity of the first centuries of Christianity, a sharing of community goods, and an eager practice and fulfilment of the law of love. It teases the mind with a dreamed-of utopia that cannot be realized without anarchy and radicalism. And in these years when breaches already appeared in the armor of feudalism due to its inability to withstand the forces of a growing mercantile society, it produced a worsened economic situation where wealth became more centralized in the possession of fewer nobles, and where the peasantry after decades of wars and reprisals passed from a state of existence that was barely tolerable to one that was eminently intolerable. Chelčický's writings have little claim to originality, which is no condemnation since the Middle Ages yielded a multitude of thought-borrowers, particularly in its waning period. So it is not suprising to find the influence of other mediaeval theorists, especially John Wclif and his well-known doctrine of dominion.

For readers who like to travel the sinuous path of late mediaeval affairs with the hope of discovering the lineage of social and political thought this learned book holds special interest and promise.

Edward D. McShane

Alma College

The Revolt of Martin Luther. By Robert Herndon Fife. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 726. $9.75.)

This is Professor Fife's second book on Luther, the first having appeared in 1928. The present work is impressive in size and content.

It records Luther's psychological and intellectual formation up to the Diet of Worms, having the same scope as Heinrich Boehmer's *Der junge Luther* from which, neverthless, it differs significantly. Boehmer's is a popular-level, smoothly written work, while Dr. Fife's is for advanced students, is heavy reading, and is equipped with full scholarly paraphernalia, even to the extent of twenty consecutive *ibid.*'s at once place. Luther's early years are hard to handle because of dearth of reliable information. Dr. Fife acknowledges that the polemical rantings that pass for reminiscences in the *Table Talk* are hopelessly colored by later events. He, therefore, substitutes detailed descriptions of Luther's environment and considerable information about all the people who figured in Luther's youth. From the point where Luther's own letters, lecture notes, sermons, and pamphlets are available, the author follows the technique of explaining the circumstances that produced each of them and then summarizing them in chronological order to show Luther's progressive revolt from Catholicism.

The book's chief merit is its extensive use of primary sources. Professor Fife makes an effort to distinguish fact from myth and to preserve an air of neutrality by refusing to pass direct judgment. Two quotations will show his awareness of the essentially subjective nature of Luther's attitude: "Martin's convictions, like those of every truly dedicated reformer, were deep to the point of irrationality" (p. 769). And "Like other men of powerful will and deep conviction of their right, he was unable to envisage the possibility of any fair and informed judgment that did not support his views" (p. 369). But there can be no doubt that the author's sympathies are all with his subject. Even "academic freedom" is invoked to sustain the hero. Secondary literature is drawn on extensively, but for maximum utility references should have been to translations whenever available. The few citations from Grisar and Pastor are to the original German editions; nor is notice taken of English versions of Luther's writings. Since the author is neither theologian nor professional historian, it is understandable that errors occur, especially on background material. Peter Hispanus is wrongly identified as Pope John XII (p. 40); benefit of clergy is apparently misunderstood (p. 223); a confused passage relates that the development of papal primacy—"sovereignty" is the word used—reached a climax under Boniface VIII in 1300, and that conciliarism is "a theory descended through the ages" (p. 301). An obvious slip is "All Saints' Day, October 31, 1516" (p. 248). "Poor of London" seems to mean Poor Men of Lyon (p. 665).

Since Luther grew up a Catholic in a Catholic environment, Protestants naturally encounter difficulties describing his life. This is evident in Dr. Fife's strained comments on ecclesiastical ceremonies and in the explanation of Luther's first Mass, where the offertory is confused with the consecration. The author has no use for monasticism; words such as "monkery," "monkhood," and "monkdom" are repugnant and awkward. He speaks of "the gloom of medieval asceticism," and "life in the cloister, with its spirit of pride" (p. 216). A novel interpretation attributes Luther's vulgarity to "the frustrations of monastic life, which diverted the imagination to find satisfaction in dwelling on the obscene" (p. 222). Moreover, on the theological side, it cannot be accepted that Luther began to question papal primacy as early as 1515, nor that his position at Leipzig was the result of a "long and organic development." Whenever Dr. Fife treats indulgences confusion reigns. Catholic historians may justly wonder if some of their non-Catholic colleagues will *ever* even try to understand this matter. Here are two choice examples: "the 'Portiuncula' which . . . secured for the repentant believer the remission of all his sins" (p. 135); "the so-called 'plenary indulgences' . . . remitting the sins of all Christendom" (p. 247). And, too, a dispensation is mistaken for an indulgence. (pp. 249-250). This volume contains much of value, but it must be used with caution.

RAYMOND H. SCHMANDT

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Aspects de la propaganda religieuse. By G. Berthhoud *et al.* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz. 1957. Pp. xviii, 427. 60 fr. S.)

The title of this scholarly work need not be taken too strictly. It is, in fact, a collection of twenty-one historical essays by different authors, written in French, English, German, or Italian, and referring to the religious history of the sixteenth century. Most of them bear on the Protestant Reformation, especially at Lyons and Geneva, although there is one on the religious activities of Cardinal Allen, and one on Pasquier's plea for religious toleration. Again, most of the essays are more or less loosely connected with the publishing trade and describe the various aspects of propaganda. Much new information is given on the printing and distribution of books, the posting up of "placards," the publishing of pseudo-Catholic books, the influence of Protestant masters in Catholic schools, the writing of dedications, the public singing of the psalms, the use of almanacs, children's readers, prophecies, caricatures, and satirical tracts. The work is obviously of Protestant inspiration, but the authors keep to strictly historical lines and are generally unbiased in their judgments.

It is difficult to trace the outstanding lines of thought in such a collection of minute historical facts. Yet there does appear a certain unity in the volume taken as a whole. First of all, the authors are quite outspoken about the seamy side of Protestant propaganda, the saying "all is fair in love and war" being here made to cover religious pen-warfare as well. Thus for the unscrupulous, spreading of false news meant "to impress the populations and cause an emotional shock likely to bring about mass adhesions or at least to keep up a condition of nervous receptivity." Again, as early as 1533, a Protestant printer is shown to have published a very cleverly contrived pseudo-recantation of the famous Catholic doctor of the Sorbonne, Noel Beda, who is made to endorse in Catholic language the doctrines of the Reformers. Many similar "finds" have been made by the authors, thanks to untiring bibliographical research. Another fact which emerges from the volume taken as a whole is that for many decades after the emergence of Luther the boundary between Catholicism and Protestantism was not hard and fast, but remarkably fluid. It is in many cases difficult to pin down a historical character to one of the opposing religions, e.g., it is difficult to tell whether the principal of Lyons College, Aneau, was a Catholic with Protestant leanings, or a Protestant who retained Catholic habits of speech. Thus again, Beza's translation of the psalms was approved by two Catholic doctors, one of whom, it is true, later embraced the Reformation. Printers occasionally served both sides at once, e.g., Peter de Vingle published the works of the Catholic champion, John Eck, as a counterweight to the Protestant books he had issued. Human frailty similarly played its part in the behavior of many a historical figure of the period.

For the Catholic reader, the single essay bearing on Catholic propaganda will be of special interest. The American author, Professor Garrett Mattingly, provides a full reprint of a memorandum, *De presenti rerum anglicarum statu brevis annotatio, unde sacrae expeditionis facilitas et opportunitas cerni potest.* It is quite obvious that this paper referred to the plans for an armada and that it was meant for the pope; and the author proves conclusively that it must have been written by Cardinal Allen. Now among the numerous arguments which it rehearses to prove that a military expedition launched from the continent would necessarily be successful, Allen mentioned the fruitfulness of the efforts of the missionary priests sent to England. The Catholics had grown tremendously in numbers, "nostrorum hominum et sacerdotum quotidiana adhortatione, doctrina, scriptione. . . Habemus adhuc . . . pene trecentos presbiteros in variis nobilium, et honestorum hominum aedibus. . . qui Catholicorum conscientiam et actiones, in hac re, cum opus erit, dirigent." Campion and Southwell were obviously sincere when they disclaimed all plotting against the Queen Elizabeth. The document brings indisputable proof, nonetheless, that Allen considered the activities of the missionaries as part of the plan which aimed at the invasion of England and the dethroning of Elizabeth. In the face of the evidence supplied, this must be held as a fact.

The volume is not wholly free from errors. Peter Martyr migrated to England in 1547, not in 1546. And Pasquier's religious attitude is misinterpreted. The fact that he felt human and merciful toward the Protestants and that he wished for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses is no proof that he sympathized with the doctrines of the Reformers. It is to be regretted that no reference was made to the obvious case of clandestine propaganda provided by the Marprelate controversy. On the whole, however, this works affords a rich store of religious information besides making excellent reading.

PIERRE JANELLE

University of Clermont—Ferrand

Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament. By Christopher Hill. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 367. $6.75.)

Frequently students of sixteenth and seventeenth-century English history find the then current ecclesiastical terminology relating to economic affairs to be confusing and dictionary explanations to be unsatisfactory. Christopher Hill supplies a valuable corrective in his study of the economic aspects of the English Church from John Whitgift's appointment to Canterbury in 1583 to the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640. The post-Reformation Church of England during these fifty-seven years had inherited from the mediaeval past a wide scope of activity, ranging from the right of taxation and of fine and imprisonment to the control of the means of instruction and of education. But it had also lost much, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially under Archbishop Laud, tried to reassert the prerogatives and the position the ecclesiastical body had once possessed in the face of powerful religious dissent and the anti-clericalism which infected many possessed of wealth and political influence. Although the structure of the Church remained intact in these years, much of ecclesiastical life had come under the control of laymen after the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries. From the economic viewpoint the clergy were still great landowners, but their tenure was marked, all too frequently, by uneconomic management and by an incumbent's exploitation of his benefice in favor of his own family at the expense of his successors. Ultimately this tended to impoverish the Church and to lower its dignity; e.g., the inflation of prices in the Elizabethan and earlier Stuart years meant heavy losses when church lands were leased for long periods. Another essential element in the ecclesiastical difficulties lay in the spoliation of the Church under the

Tudors; Elizabeth, e.g., had made it a practice to reward favorites and meet obligations out of the revenues and lands of the Church.

In very great detail Hill analyzes these and other problems of ecclesiastical life where Puritanism, a movement containing many of the great landowners and merchants, stands among the foremost. It attacked not only the landed position of the clergy, but also the theological foundations of their order: Puritan landowners, wherever they controlled the ecclesiastical patronage in local areas, subverted the main stream of Anglicanism defined by Bancroft and Laud by appointing Puritan clergy to benefices. Hill, holding himself aloof from partisanship, with care and fairness analyzes ecclesiastical taxation of the laity, giving special attention to tithes—the ten per cent of the produce of a community reserved for the support of the local pastor—and to the difficulties caused by the commutation and by the evasion of them. He continues with a discussion of related problems—pluralism, impropriations (lay acquisition of one time monastic rights to tithes and ecclesiastical patronage in a local area), and proposals for reform, including augmentations. Two chapters very admirably treat the social and economic status of the Anglican clergy and the administration of Archbishop Laud.

For many years an open sympathy for the Puritans under Elizabeth I and the earlier Stuarts was a marked trend in historiography. Only a few historians, notably the late R. G. Usher, dissented. Hill, allying himself to neither school and omitting theological discussions, has limited his book to economic questions, devoting it to an analysis of trends and of human motivations. The wealth of detail, fortified by statistical data, makes it a work of scholarship, but deprives it of readability: it is complex and requires considerable concentration to avoid confusion. Little is based on original research and Hill does not claim his treatment to be exhaustive. Nevertheless, the book is based on wide reading and much probing of printed primary and of secondary sources and the end result is a very remarkable and very permanent work of synthesis.

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Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity. By Arnulf Camps, O.F.M. (Schöneck-Beckenried, Schweiz; Neue Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft. 1957. Pp. xviii, 260. Sfr. 24.)

This monograph, a dissertation from the University of Fribourg, constitutes Volume VI of the supplements to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*. Its purpose is to study the twenty-year apostolate of Jerome Xavier in the Mogul Empire about the year 1600. Chief attention is concentrated on Xavier's apologetic work, *Fuente de Vida,* while the principles underlying his entire mission method are treated somewhat less fully. Before this study can be attempted, the author rightly feels it necessary in his first chapter to introduce us to the central figure (pp. 1-50), and to place him in the historical background of the epoch and empire in which he worked: "The General Religious Situation of the Mogul Empire at the time of Akbar and Jahangir," (pp. 51-91). This done, Father Camps proceeds to the heart of his book which is an examination of Jerome Xavier's controversial writing and of his missionary activity as a whole.

Jerome Xavier, whose father was a nephew of St. Francis Xavier, was born in Spain in 1549, joined the Society of Jesus, was sent to the Indies, and eventually became superior of the professed house in Goa. The nationalistic sentiments of his Portuguese confrères made it necessary to promote him from office, and an opportunity presented itself when the great Mogul Emperor Akbar requested missionaries for his court (1594). Though two Jesuit missions had preceded him there, the scope and duration of Jerome's activities made him "the real founder of the Mogul Mission." The Moguls had invaded India from Turkestan and had set up a powerful empire during the course of the sixteenth century. Their religion was Mohammedan, their language Persian, their first great ruler Akbar—an apostate from Islam who granted toleration to all religions, probably with the intention of uniting them all to consolidate his realm. His son Jahangir continued the policy of toleration, but from political motives: and so it was not surprising that Father Jerome's mission was ended when a split developed in Mogul-Portuguese relations. He returned to Goa where he was burned to death in an unexplained accident shortly after. During his two decades on the Mogul mission he had written much, as is evidenced by the twenty-seven pages devoted to a critical listing of his works, and the ten pages which give a calendar of his letters. These two sections on Xavier's works and letters are also evidence of Father Camps' thorough and scholarly research in the many libraries and archives listed in the bibliography.

Chapter 2 discusses the religious views of Akbar and his son, then reviews the position of Islamism, Hinduism, and Christianity under these emperors. The third chapter, despite its general title, "Controversial Works", deals exclusively with Xavier's five-book *Fuente de Vida* which is subjected to a minute analysis. (The other "controversial works" turn out to be a Persian translation of the same and a Persian abridgement of the translation.) Chapter 4 falls into four sub-headings: the stage of preparation tells of Xavier's efforts to master Persian and the customs of the court, as well as to produce a Christian literature; the next section shows how he strove to maintain good relations with the emperors, on whose good will the mission depended; the third treats of disputes held in the presence of the emperor with Muslim leaders, and incidentally, finds fault with the missionaries' "absence of irenic mentality;" while the last section on "the full display of the Christian religious life" gathers in other mission propaganda activities such as liturgical pomp, Christian art, and charities.

The book has a satisfactory index and an impressive bibliography. It is regrettable that the author did not think to add a map for the benefit of those less versed in Indian geography. All told, however, this dissertation is a welcome contribution to Catholic mission literature, for it sheds light on the mentality and methods of seventeenth-century Catholic missionaries working in Muslim territory.

VINCENT J. FECHER

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Techny

William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737. By Norman Sykes. Two volumes. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. xiii, 366; 289, $15.00).

William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1716 to 1737, has had to wait over 200 years for his biographer, in spite of the fact that his lifetime, 1657-1737, covered a period of crucial importance for the Church of England, and in spite of the care he took to ensure that materials for his biography would be available when he left his manuscripts, including thirty-one large volumes of his letters, to Christ Church, Oxford, with the stipulation that they were to be transported from Lambeth by land and not by water, to make quite certain that they would survive undamaged. The very bulk of the material must have discouraged several biographers. In addition, Wake wrote a very crabbed hand and these letter-books are heavily-corrected drafts. Professor Sykes admits his relief on coming to the last page, but he can feel rewarded for his labors in the certainty that it will be at least another two centuries before his work will be dated.

It is obvious that Professor Sykes has found the archbishop a congenial study, but one could express doubts if this sympathy will be universal. Many will accept more readily than he does the tag which springs to his mind when he comes to sum up Wake's life—*omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.* Wake was involved in many causes, and in none was he particularly successful. As archbishop, he wielded little influence in public affairs; the government's adviser was Bishop Gibson of London. In internal ecclesiastical controversies the great historical erudition he undoubtedly displayed had little practical effect. It is clear that what the author finds most interesting—and against the background of the modern ecumenical movement it is inherently so—is Wake's correspondence with European Protestant churches and French Gallicans. In no case did this correspondence lead to the union desired by the archbishop. One feels very evident here the 'certain imperiousness of character and temper' which insisted that the Gallicans break altogether with Rome as a prelude to negotiations; which, while insisting that episcopacy was a 'fundamental', apostolic doctrine was, nevertheless, prepared to discuss union with non-episcopal European churches without insisting on it, in marked contrast to his rigid attitude to dissent at home.

All this is still very topical, and Professor Sykes' book shows up many of the weaknesses in the appeal to antiquity as the sole rule of faith, quite beside his intention no doubt, for he clearly shares the archbishop's assumptions on this point. This makes a completely detached approach impossible, but in these matters it is inherently so. Otherwise, his meticulous scholarship, restrained judgment, and easy style have given us Archbishop Wake's definitive biography.

Patrick J. Corish

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French Protestantism and the French Revolution, A Study in Church and State, Thought and Religion, 1685-1815. By Burdette C. Poland. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 315. $5.00.)

From 1685 to 1815 French Protestantism went through a variety of vicissitudes. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had been a severe blow, but during the eighteenth century there was a slackening in the enforcement of the Sun King's harsh decree until finally in 1787 the kindly King Louis XVI decreed an edict of toleration. This decree, although gratifying, was not completely satisfactory to the French Calvinists. In Dr. Poland's words, "The monarchy conferred on the Protestants the rights of citizenship, but it left them second-class citizens." Still the situation was vastly improved, and with the outbreak of the Revolution it seemed likely that it would improve still more. Relatively to the Catholic Church the Protestants did, of course, at first improve their position, but the wave of de-Christianization smashed against Protestant church as well as against Catholic cathedral. According to Dr. Poland the Protestants did not withstand this wave with as much firmness as did the Catholics; there were no Protestant counterparts to the martyrs of September or the Carmelites of Compiègne. The Protestants who fell in the terror were struck down not as Christians but as members of the defeated side in the bloody fight of the factions.

Since the Catholic Church underwent so awful an overthrow—from privilege to spoliation—to proscription in rapid steps, a natural question arises: how did the Protestants act in this overthrow? Did they feed fat their ancient grudges? Did they lead the attack on the Catholic Church? Many Catholics thought so, and Dr. Poland gives numerous quotations from books which range from the era of the Revolution to the twentieth century which bitterly indict the Protestants as co-destroyers of the Catholic Church in France. The author has made a thorough study of the Protestant community in revolutionary France, and he has come to the conclusion that the indictment is not justified, that the Protestants as a group did not lead the attack on the Catholic Church. There were Protestants who did signalize themselves in the effort to bring down the old Church, men like the rancorous lawyer, Barnave, and there were Protestants who gloated over the downfall of the Catholic Church like the minister, Rabaut St. Etienne. But the bulk of the Protestants held aloof; indeed, some Protestants showed themselves mild in the application of anti-Catholic laws.

Dr. Poland's scholarly study is a real contribution to the literature of the Revolution. Although sympathetic with the Protestants, he is thoroughly objective, and he does not blink the weakness of the Calvinist pastors in the face of persecution, while readily admitting that Catholics withstood the fiery blast of the Revolution. The author makes it clear that he is concentrating on the French Calvinists to the practical exclusion of the Lutherans.

There are few defects in this excellent study. One might object to a seeming confusion between Roman Catholics and Constitutional Catholics, for there was a great difference between them. It might be pedantic to carp at calling Abbé Lenfant a Jesuit when he must have been an ex-Jesuit since the order was suppressed at the time. In view of Barnave's attitude toward the Civil Constitution of the Clergy it is difficult to see why Dr. Poland should blame de la Gorce for being sparing in praise of that rather bigoted revolutionary. These are small defects, however, in a first-rate work, one which should be in the library of every student of the French Revolution. There is a good bibliography and five very useful and interesting appendices.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

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The Case of Cornelia Connelly. By Juliana Wadham. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1957. Pp. xi, 276. $3.75.)

Little known to the vast majority of English and American readers of the present generation, the name of Cornelia Connelly was, for a short time in the 1850's, on nearly everybody's lips and in the columns of every English newspaper of the period. An exceptional woman by any standard, this American-born girl who became successively wife, mother, convert, nun, and foundress of the Society of the Holy Child of Jesus, makes an absorbingly interesting subject for biographical study. That such a study is particularly timely is testified to by the fact that Cornelia Connelly's case for beatification is presently being investigated. Born in Philadelphia in 1809, the youngest of a prominent Protestant family whose forbears had come from Yorkshire, the talented and beautiful Cornelia at first sight appears a curious candidate for beatification. As the facts of her life are revealed in the pages of Mrs. Wadham's finely told biography, they read more strangely than fiction. But to the great credit of the author, no attempt is made to exploit the sensational. Indeed, the story needs no spectacular garnishing to make it one which will thoroughly engage the reader's attention.

As the docile young wife of Pierce Connelly, a personable Episcopalian minister, Cornelia's choices for a period of fifteen years were dictated to her. It was at her husband's request that she became first a Catholic and later a nun. A command of Pope Gregory XVI imposed upon her the formidable tasks of founding a new religious congregation for the education of girls in England. The next period of her life was darkly overcast by the sensational suit in the most Protestant court in Europe against her, a nun, for the restitution of conjugal rights by her husband, a priest, and by the scandal of the latter's final apostasy and the complete estrangement of the children from their nun-mother. During the third and final period, she was beset by countless spiritual and temporal anxieties, endless litigation, unfortunate altercations with the English hierarchy and clergy which brought upon her personal and public rebukes and suspicions so great that on her death her successors refused to allow her name to be mentioned and hid all the private papers she could find so that her memory should not destroy her works. Nevertheless, the rule she wrote for her nuns and the educational methods she introduced into the schools of the society, although in advance of her time, were destined to survive. The work of the congregation spread from its motherhouse in England to other countries, including the United States, where today thirty-three convents in her native land testify to the ultimate triumph of Cornelia's ideas and spirit.

In telling Cornelia's story, Mrs. Wadham is to be congratulated upon her judicious handling of the relevant documents, upon the charming sense of humor which gives her such a delicate appreciation of the same quality in the subject of her work, and upon the ease and grace with which the whole account is set against the rich background of details of Catholic life in Victorian England. In one respect, however, this book will disappoint some readers. Although the author has made use of some of the material in Cornelia's spiritual notebooks and other unpublished material from the archives of the Society of the Holy Child, it is still insufficient to knit together an adequate account of the foundress' interior life and spiritual graces and capacities which alone explain this remarkable personality. Despite the fact that the whole story is not yet told, and because of its nature, it may never be told, Mrs. Wadham has incontestably written a book which is not only good literature but sound history.

MOTHER MARY PETER CARTHY

College of New Rochelle

Poels, By Door J. Colsen, C. M. (Roermond-Maaseik: J. J. Romen & Zonen. 1955. Pp. 680. f-19.50).

The subject of this book is the life, thought, character, and services of Monsignor Henricus Poels, a noteworthy priest, scholar, and churchman in the Netherlands and in the Church generally. Colsen, the author of this imposing volume, was at great pains to describe Poels' life with much minute and accurate detail drawn from an immense mass of newspapers, pamphlets, private correspondence, official documents, and scholarly documents. Poels was born on February 14, 1868, and died on September 7, 1948. His basic mental and moral formation was supplied by the pious Christian life of the small town of Venray in the Province of Limburg, one of the less well known provinces of the Netherlands.

Although the Poels family may be traced back to the 1700's, there is little information extant about it before the 1800's. Some of its members were associated with the "Groote Campagnie," a large business concern engaged in the raising, buying, and selling of sheep. The company distributed sheep over a wide area—Germany, Russia, England, France, and the Argentine. Hendrik Poels, however, showed little interest in this business, preferring to study for the priesthood. From 1880 to 1888 he was a student at the gymnasium of Rolduc; next, from 1888 to 1891, he attended the seminary at Roermond, after which he studied at the University of Louvain where he took the doctorate in theology. A facilely critical methodology in biblical studies was establishing itself in many quarters. In 1863 Renan published his *La Vie de Jésus,* following the example of David F. Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (1835), and of other critical scholars such as J. Wellhausen and Abraham Kuenen. From the standpoint of scholarship this was truly a critical period. During his years in Roermond the young Poels at first was interested in missionary work in Uganda. But the study of sociology, then dawning, also attracted him. This was the time when Leo XIII published his *Rerum novarum* (1891). But what determined Poels in his course was the idea that higher critical scholarship should be emphasized in biblical studies. In this conviction he was encouraged by Albinus Van Hoonacker and appointed to the Louvain faculty in 1891 to give instruction in the Old Testament. In 1894 Poels produced his *Sanctuary of Kirjath-Jearim* and three years later his *Critical Investigation of the History of the Sanctuary of the Ark.* These works definitely established his reputation as a scholar. From 1897 to 1899 he taught at the school of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart at Borgerhout near Antwerp. He was professor in Old Testament literature at the Catholic University of America from 1904 to 1910, after which date he devoted himself to religious and social problems in his beloved Province of Limburg. This book is a monument to the Christian life and labor of a great man.

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

Die Katholische Chinamission im Spiegel der Rotchinesischen Presse. By Johannes Schütte, S.V.D. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1957. Pp. xlii, 394. DM. 29.50).

This work, a doctoral dissertation written at the University of Münster, appears in the Studies and Documents series published by the International Institute for Scientific Missionary Research. Its author, a former missionary in China who suffered communist imprisonment, presents a dispassionate and objective exposition of the accusations made by the Red press of China against the Catholic missions in that country. Then—and this is the heart of the thesis—he evaluates these charges in the light of the history of the missions in China since the end of the Opium War in 1842 and the treaties that followed upon it. He finds that despite the lies and exaggerations that crowd its pages the Red press has laid bare real weaknesses and deficiencies of Catholic mission work. We can now calmly assess former missionary attitudes and methods. Some of the weaknesses were: a certain exaggerated nationalism among many missionaries, an unfortunate intermingling of political aims and mission endeavor, patriotism too little encouraged among converts, too little attention paid to the requirements of social justice in the remuneration and care of employees, not enough trust reposed by European missionaries in their Chinese confrères, etc.

At the same time the accusations in the Red press make clear the fact that the Catholic Chinese mission as a whole has always been clearly conscious of its supernatural end and has sought to realize it. Should China again be opened to mission endeavor, past mistakes will have to be avoided and newer methods devised. Among the methods which the author adumbrates is a far more general participation of the laity in the active apostolate. As a background to his theme the author discusses the philosophy of communism in its attitude towards religion.

Not only those interested in the Chinese mission field but all who wish to understand communism and its methods of operation will find rich matter in this book.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

Alma College

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier. By James P. Shannon. [Yale Publications in American Studies, Volume I. Edited by David Horne.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 302. $5.00).

This study of an aspect of the Catholic colonization movement is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly information which is becoming available for a more comprehensive understanding of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. It is a distinct tribute to the author that Yale University chose his doctoral dissertation to serve as the first volume in its new series in American Studies. The work features a broad treatment of the role of the frontier in American history. It does not merely analyze the political and economic factors involved in western growth, but it places decided emphasis on the religious and social aspects of American expansionism. The Catholic Church comes forth as a potent agency for the Americanization of the immigrant in southern Minnesota during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The trapper-rancher-farmer sequence is expanded to include the activities of the Catholic bishop, the missionary, and the railroad builder. In this account the author presents the colonization work of John Ireland, Archbishop of Saint Paul, as an important episode in frontier development.

Father Shannon's volume illustrates extensive research. He has brought together and interpreted data that have hitherto been dormant in railroad and chancery archives, and this is especially true of the rich sources of upper Middle West railroad company holdings which he has tapped for his purposes. He also visited the colonies which Archbishop Ireland founded where he interviewed first and second generation Catholics whose memories date back to the pioneer days of these settlements in southern Minnesota.

Although the energetic Archbishop of St. Paul first aimed to encourage immigration from Ireland and the exodus of indigent Irish Americans from the populous centers of the Atlantic seaboard, his program in this regard never proved successful. This story indicates how difficult it was for the poor Catholic laborer in the East to move west with his family. Ireland's colonies scarcely became havens for workers in depressed economic circumstances, for to take up successful residence in the trans-Mississippi country required an initial outlay of from $700 to $1,000. The best that the Minnesota prelate could assure the prospective settler was access to land at liberal terms from a railroad agent and life in a community where the ministrations of a priest and parish advantages were early available.

As time passed, the Irish complexion of the Minnesota colonies changed and Belgians, French, and Germans became increasingly numerous as settlers. The Irish who came directly from the homeland often left the soil in spite of the constant refrain of the archbishop that "Man made the city; God made the country." Those Irish who moved by stages from the Atlantic seaboard and farmed in other areas tended to continue living on the land in Minnesota. They had been tested on earlier frontiers and were able to meet the challenges of the new prairie environment successfully. The Belgian immigrants in the Ireland colonies established an admirable record which illustrated devotion to the Church, loyalty to the land, and a genuine alertness as exponents of frontier enterprise. This study presents a detailed appraisal of Belgian Catholic rural living in Minnesota.

According to the author, Ireland's colonization endeavors between 1876 and 1881 led to the establishment of ten colonies and the settlement of 4,000 Catholic families in his expanding diocese. Four hundred thousand acres of virgin land were put into cultivation and the foundations were laid for the growth of numerous Catholic parishes which continue to flourish today. It is Father Shannon's conclusion that the archbishop's colonization program was unique in that it successfully promoted colony settlement, but did not lead to the creation of "islands" in American frontier society. These Minnesota colonies tended to "fit into the society around them and did not become set-apart villages," due to the flexibility and permissive character of this movement. Herein we have another illustration of Archbishop Ireland's endeavor to demonstrate that the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States was compatible with American national development.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

Saint John's University
Collegeville

The Golden Door: The Life of Katharine Drexel. By Katherine Burton. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1957. Pp. xi, 329. $3.75).

The current controversy over school integration lends a timely significance to this life of Katharine Drexel whose love for God and her neighbor found expression in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to God's neglected children, the Indians and Negroes. That racial prejudice should continue to deprive these minorities of their religious and civic rights seemed to her unthinkable. Equally unthinkable to their white masters was the adoption of a policy which, ignoring the color line, would inaugurate a program of instruction and rehabilitation worthy of rational creatures destined to immortality. If today, almost a century after Appomattox, racial discrimination is still rampant in the South, in the early post-bellum decades not even the heiress of the Drexel millions would have dared to suggest such an ineffective compromise as the "separate but equal" decision handed down by the Supreme Court in 1896. Yet, Katharine Drexel saw clearly that if the Indian and Negro were to take their rightful place in American society, a long-range program of education would have to be initiated and administered, at first under white supervision, but eventually by instructors of their own race.

To implement such a program she had at her disposal her share of the great Drexel fortune. But no one realized better than she the limitations of money. It could do much, but it could not purchase teachers who would embrace a life of poverty and hardship as if it were a privilege. And nothing less would do. Then there was her own vocation to a contemplative life. Should she forego it to supervise the far-flung network of missions which she envisaged? Her prayers for guidance were answered when Pope Leo XIII suggested that she found her own community, combining the contemplative and active apostolates. To insure the canonical establishment of the new order and the proper training of its members, Katharine entered the novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy at Pittsburgh. There on February 12, 1891, she pronounced her first vows. The news that Miss Drexel intended to found a community for work among the Indians and Negroes was, indeed, glad tidings for the clergy and laymen already working in the field. All through her novitiate the calls kept coming in—for financial aid and for sisters. The first was never refused, once Sister Katharine was convinced of the need; the second would have to await the growth of the little band of twelve who had already joined her in the Mercy novitiate. The list of her correspondents reads like a roster of the American hierachy for that period. A key figure in the missionary endeavor of the American Church during the sixty years of her religious life, she traveled from mission to mission with the zeal of a Francis Xavier and the solicitude of a Kino for his beloved neophytes. A humble religious who always shunned the limelight when honors were to be bestowed, she never hesitated to approach the highest authorities in Church or State for the solution of her many vexing problems.

Mrs. Burton has sketched many of these problems as they appeared to Mother Drexel's contemporaries. But much is left untold. One can only surmise how they affected the inner life of this valiant woman. It is to be hoped that some member of her community, with access to the pertinent sources, will one day enrich us with that story.

SISTER MARY AUGUSTINA RAY

Xavier High School
Saint Louis

The Bell and the River. By Sister Mary of the Blessed Sacrament McCrosson. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books. 1957. Pp. xvii, 268. $3.50).

A century ago the population of the Pacific Northwest was centered west of the Cascade Range with only a few brave mission or military outposts to the eastward. Two decades before, while the boundary issue was still unsettled, Catholic missionaries from the Diocese of Quebec arrived to minister to the Catholics of the region, at that time largely employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time the Jesuit and Oblate Fathers began evangelizing the Indians of the interior. When the region became part of the United States the priests stayed on to attend members of their faith from whatever nation. The frequent plea for more laborers was answered in 1856 when five Sisters of Charity of Providence arrived to take up the various works to which their society was dedicated. This was the first group of religious women to remain in the Northwest.

The Bell and the River is a popular account of the founding and formative years of the community in the Pacific Northwest as traced through the life of a valiant pioneer, Sister Joseph of the Sacred Heart. The young foundation in Montreal engaged in a variety of good works—care of the sick, mentally distressed, orphan, aged, as well as the instruction of the young. Sister Joseph was quick to implement all these objectives in the new field against all odds. A persistent need was for adequate funds to build, maintain, expand, and in time to replace hospitals, schools, orphanages, and Indian missions. Money was secured by begging tours to mining districts or military posts or through more prosaic means as bazaars. If Sister Joseph's optimism seemed on occasion to outrun prudence, time invariably proved that she could have built on an even grander scale in the growing region. The indefatigable sister servant was not only financial expert but literally the builder of numerous structures. From her father, a carriage maker, she inherited a knowledge of design and materials as well as skill and training in the woodworker's craft. This ability she employed in the actual construction of early buildings and in the design and supervision of later ones. Her practical talent as well as vision was manifest in her demographic insight. The tiny settlements where she established houses became in time centers of population—Vancouver, Portland, Spokane, Seattle, Yakima, Walla Walla and others. Her practical abilities were matched by her spiritual stature.

The author, Sister Mary of the Blessed Sacrament McCrosson, a native of the Northwest and well versed in its history, died as her volume neared completion. This no doubt explains the lack of an introduction in which the method of the work might be indicated. On its own merits the book would seem best classified as fictionalized biography in the tradition of Hartnett Kane or Irving Stone. It lacks footnotes, nor is there a bibliography or note on the sources, although the examination of a number of archives seems evident. These sources would be of inestimable value in themselves. The tone of writing is filial and while the figure of Sister Joseph emerges, those of other eminent figures, like Archbishop Blanchet and his brother Bishop Blanchet, Bishop Junger, Father Brouillet, Bishop Bourget, do not. The element of conflict is lacking; in the overcoming of difficulties there is never a question of the issue in the subject's favor. There is need for historical writing on the role of the Church in the Pacific Northwest. For those who prefer their history straight, undiluted with probable elements, the story of Mother Joseph and the beginnings of the Sisters of Charity of Providence in the Far West remains to be written although the present work will fill a popular need.

SISTER MARGARET JEAN KELLY

Marylhurst College

Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement. By Paul B. Marx, O.S.B. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 466. $5.00).

"Our slow world spends its time catching up with the ideas of its best minds." These words of Woodrow Wilson have a peculiar appropriateness when used in reference to Virgil Michel and the liturgical movement. Here was a man far in advance of his time, forward-looking to the extent that we still seem to be trying to catch up with his ideas. One reads this life of Dom Virgil and the realization dawns that here truly was a man of many and extraordinary talents, none of which he buried. He organized the liturgical apostolate in the United States, putting into circulation ideas gathered especially during the year and a half he spent in Europe. He founded and edited *Orate Fratres* [*Worship*], established and directed the Liturgical Press, and, with the indefatigability so characteristic of him, he edited a score of publications, lectured, conducted retreats, and carried on a large correspondence. Response to his ideas was quick, for Dom Michel wrote well: clearly, cogently, persuasively. Priests and people read what he wrote, absorbing and catching up with the ideas from his fine mind.

The liturgy and the liturgical movement was but one of Father Michel's many and varied interests. He was a capable and penetrating philosopher, an inspiring teacher, a social economist, missioner to the Indians, translator, retreat master, and for some years Dean of St. John's College. His writings bear eloquent witness to the depth of his scholarship and the keenness of his interests. "There was hardly a question of current discussion in his time on which Virgil did not make some comment." And the comment was not superficial, but deeply penetrating.

Father Marx's study is chiefly concerned with Virgil Michel's work in the American liturgical movement: its origins, development, and ramifications. This limitation was obviously necessary, since it would be quite impossible to treat adequately every aspect of so full a life. The author did well to choose to give us the life of Michel and his work with the liturgy, for when he died at the comparatively young age of forty-nine, he had vigorously integrated the liturgy into the American scheme of religious, social, and political life. So thoroughly had he explored the ramifications of the liturgical apostolate that he had related "religion with all phases of human nature, with all of life."

This scholarly exposition of Father Michel's thought and work is related with an objectivity and detachment which demonstrate the author's own devotion to the cause of truth and to the liturgical apostolate. He carefully details and evaluates for his readers the truly fabulous career of this man of God. The author sums up the work of Virgil Michel in these words: "There are three great movements of our time, the theological movement, the liturgical movement, the apostolate. . . . These three are organically one. Their synthesis was the vision of Father Virgil Michel."

BERNARD E. GRANICH

Church of the Immacolata
Saint Louis

Edwin Vincent O'Hara, American Prelate. A Biography. By J. G. Shaw. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957. Pp. xiii, 274. $4.00).

This volume is an enthusiastic appraisal of an outstanding American prelate. While not a large volume, it is fairly complete in its account and every significant step that led to the episcopal honor is traced and thereafter every important undertaking of the bishop is faithfully noted. Readers will justly complain, however, that there is no indication of the source material—not a single footnote. Such an omission is often justified on the ground of a greater appeal to the popular reader, but it fails to suit an historian's critical sense, which cannot honestly content itself with any author's *ipse dixit.* This unhistorical method proves inadequate in the face of a challenging statement like the following on the revision of the Baltimore catechism: "Many of the previous attempts at alternative catechisms suffered from being compiled either by theologians untrained in pedagogy or by pedagogues untrained in theology" (p. 158); a thoughtful reader would punctuate the sentence with a scholastic's "Q.E.D."

In treating the early years of Archbishop O'Hara's life and of his preparation for the priesthood the author assumes too much, it seems, from mere generalities (cf. pp. 15-15, 20-22). Ordination receives only three brief paragraphs where even some generalities would have made a better impression. When tracing the career of the minimum wage law, Mr. Shaw loses complete touch with Father O'Hara for a considerable time, a fact that becomes all the more noticeable since the reader has scarcely been put in contact with the human and personal side of the man either by quoted statements or letters. Similarly one senses throughout the book the scarcity, if not the lack, of evidence for the prelate's spirituality which, by default, diminishes the true stature of the bishop.

Easily the best of all the chapters are the two on "Revision of the Baltimore Catechism" and "Revision of the New Testament." The true greatness of Archbishop O'Hara is discernible here, not by his dominating the action of the scene but by his administrative ability, his power of organization, and his sense of responsibility for what, in themselves, are paramount to the Catholic faith, viz., Scripture and tradition.

On the whole, the style commends the work by its grace and readability although there are occasional lapses such as the following:

> A number of rooms were given over to lay training courses in which veteran lay *teachers* experienced in confraternity work, from university professors to kindergarten *teachers,* were *teaching* other lay *teachers* how to go out and *teach* still other laymen how to *teach* religion. (italics supplied) (p. 273).

Finally there are some misprints, e.g., in 1930 it was Pius XI not Pius XII who named Father O'Hara a bishop (p. 123); *Divino afflante Spiritu* not *Spiritus* (p. 178); Pius XI, not Pius XII, commemorated Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* in his encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (p. 247). These few shortcomings aside, historians of the American Church are indebted to Mr. Shaw whose devoted labors have produced so soon a representative biography of a great man and a great bishop.

JOHN B. PECHULIS

Passionist Theological Seminary
Chicago

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900. By M. L. W. Laistner. Revised edition. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. 416. $5.00).

Since the publication in 1931 of the first edition of *Thought and Letters in Western Europe,* Professor Laistner's survey of the intellectual history of the early Middle Ages has become a classic in its area. A generation of graduate students and a sprinkling of more than usually hardy undergraduates have found in this study a most useful introduction to the early mediaeval period. We remain grateful to the author, both for his original volume and for this revised edition. The new edition represents an effort to bring the earlier work up to date, by taking account of the new materials and new studies which have appeared in the field during the past twenty-five years. As Professor Laistner notes in his preface to this edition, the scale of the book as a whole has deliberately been left unaltered. *Thought and Letters* in its new form thus retains the great advantage of the earlier edition by remaining a comprehensive survey in one moderate-sized volume. Those who are familiar with the older edition will note immediately that the alterations in the text are not extensive. A few passages have silently been deleted; a few new sections have been inserted, but viewpoint, treatment, and style remain unchanged. The footnotes and the bibliography, however, have been drastically overhauled to include references to a great body of recent literature.

Some minor observations in detail should be noted. One disturbing item is the author's use of the notion of inevitability. While, from the vantage-point of the mid-twentieth century, we know that the struggle during the fourth and fifth centuries between the adherents of the pagan religious and philosophical cults and Christianity was to end ultimately in victory for the Christian party, the men who fought those battles had no way of foretelling the outcome (save, perhaps, faith on both sides in their own righteousness). From the viewpoint of the contending parties, the struggle was real, earnest, and intense with a distinct possibility of final victory for either side. When Professor Laistner states that "the adherents of the older religions and the devotees of philosophy were fighting a losing battle from the first" (p. 54), the anachronistic note is jarring. Again, in connection with the acceptance of the Benedictine *Rule* by the monks of the West, the use of the phrase " a gradual but sure process" (p. 101) tends to obscure the passionate struggle of many monks, Irish and other, to preserve the traditional rules of their founders in the face of the encroachments of Benedictinism. That the Benedictine monastic system was inherently superior to its competitors may be true; its acceptance, however, was not for that reason inevitable. Reason, common sense, and sound judgment do not inevitably triumph in this world—not, at least without a shocking amount of hard work.

While enumerating the areas of western Christendom outside of the Carolingian Empire (p. 190), Spain is inadvertantly omitted. Finally, while it might be possible to quibble endlessly over the selection of bibliographical citations in a work of this sort, one single addition may be urged. On page 94, note 2, where he discusses the latinity of the Benedictine *Rule,* Professor Laistner might well have included a reference to Christine Mohrmann's distinguished essay, "La Langue de Saint Benoît," in Dom Philibert Schmitz's edition of the text of Sangallensis 914 (editio altera, Maredsous, 1955, pp. 9-39). There are also a few typographical errors of no great significance.

This perennially helpful volume concludes with an appendix of translations of some of the Latin passages quoted in the text, a very short (five pages) select bibliography, a general index, and two special indices, one of patristic and mediaeval authors and one of modern authors cited in the text.

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee

The Merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini, 1335-1410. By Iris Origo. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. xxii, 415, vii. $7.50.)

Francesco di Marco Datini, of Prato, just north of Florence, was born in 1335 and died in 1410. Relatively poor by birth, orphaned by the Black Death in 1348, he moved to Avignon at the age of fifteen to begin a highly successful sixty-year career as a merchant—the first half centering in Avignon, the second in Prato and Florence. His firm was not one of the greatest of his time, but it was of substantial proportions. His fortune was not one of the largest, but he was rich; on his death he left his total estate of 70,000 florins to charity.

Our knowledge of Francesco—and very few individuals of our past are more copiously documented—is a by-product of this charitable bequest, which included his house in Prato, with the provision that his papers be preserved therein. Unlike most testamentary stipulations of the past, this provision has been, in part at least, implemented. The Datini Archives contain today, we are told, "some 150,000 letters, over 500 account-books and ledgers," and several thousand miscellaneous items. These materials

—embarrassingly rich for a mediaevalist—have been partly exploited by several economic historians. The present work does not claim to add anything new on that score. The author has, she says, made "merely an attempt to draw, from this vast . . . material, a picture . . . of the daily life of the time, and a portrait of the merchant himself, of his wife, his friends, and his underlings."

Those who are familiar with the author's excellent and colorful account of Tuscan slavery in the late mediaeval period [*Speculum,* XXX (July, 1955) 321-366] will not be surprised at her success in achieving the stated aim of the volume. Francesco is, indeed, brought to life. He does not benefit unreservedly from this resurrection—few readers are likely to become much enamored of this avaricious, ostentatious, fretful, often thoroughly disagreeable, and never very admirable man. Partly through mere contrast, his wife and friends fare rather better—Francesco's marital problems are as well documented as his business affairs. But all of them are thoroughly natural, thoroughly human—with, perhaps, the partial exception of Ser Lapo Mazzei, Francesco's faithful friend; Lapo has his human moments, but, as a general thing, is quite unnaturally kind and wise. (Were this a work of fiction, a reviewer would surely brand him as unconvincing, and clumsily introduced for some high literary purpose.)

We are indebted to the Marchesa Origo for a book that is historically very useful and, from any viewpoint, most interesting reading. The publishers have done their usual fine job of printing, and the many well chosen illustrations—five of them in color—enhance the reader's enjoyment.

RICHARD W. EMERY

Queens College of the City of New York

Richard The Third. By Paul Murray Kendall. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1956. Pp. 602. $5.95.)

This is that rare event of the historian's quest, exciting reading and moving literature united in the service of brilliant history. The subject is a formidable one. Few individuals have cast such a shadowy and tragically misunderstood figure across the pages of English history as Richard III. It is the unhappy era of that monarch and fifteenth-century England that Paul Kendall Murray has recreated in a biography that achieves distinction not only for its portrayal of the complex character of Richard but also for a perceptive portrait of English feudal society in decline. Not the least of the author's accomplishments is his evocation of the aroma of an era in death, of a time when the last links to the Middle Ages were being forever severed and when men intent on the narrow course of personal interest were unwittingly giving shape to the pattern of the future.

Professor Kendall's treatment of the protagonist in this unhappy account must be considered definitive. Based on elaborate and exhaustive research, a flesh and blood Richard III is presented to the reader. Youngest of seven children who survived infancy, Richard's childhood was one of ill health lived in the shadows of his strong and handsome brothers. However, the author effectively slays the myth of Richard's deformity (although undoubtedly not for the last time) and sketches a portrait of a man and ruler who far surpassed the standards of his age both in capabilities and in devotion to duty. Time and again Richard's loyalty is shown. In 1471 when he was eighteen his courage and support were decisive in Edward's attempts to regain power. Alone of the royal family he consistently remained aloof from the intrigues and plots against that monarch.

Not the least important contribution of Professor Kendall is a picture of a man devoted to the good of the commonwealth which history reveals few monarchs to have been. The portrait is of a king "accessible, earnest, concerned" far from the remote and foreboding character of Tudor times. The ablest men of the realm were chosen the king's councillors and in the brief course of eighteen months Richard laid down what the author states was "a coherent program of legal enactments, maintained an orderly society, and actively promoted the well being of his subjects. Comparable periods in the reign of his successor show no such accomplishment." His failures are attributed to an unrealistic effort to create governmental centralization while he remained wedded to feudal concepts. He envisaged a system whereby the feudality were to reassert their ancient role as active leaders but now of the king's law. Kendall shrewdly concludes Richard's failure sprang from reliance upon "feudal-like governance that was not circumscribed by the old feudal dues and ideas."

Professor Kendall's treatment of the princes' murders is thorough, judicious, and persuasive. Although evidence still leaves a presumption of Richard's guilt there is, the author concludes, no proof of that guilt. An equally strong case may be made against the Duke of Buckingham. The case against Henry VII emerges from the study as rather improbable. As the author concludes, "The available evidence admits of no decisive conclusion. . . . The famous enigma eludes us, like Hamlet: we cannot pluck out the heart of its mystery. But at least we can do better than Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who thought that there was no mystery at all."

EDMUND W. KEARNEY

John Carroll University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Queen of France. A Biography of Marie Antoinette. By André Castelot. Translated by Denise Folliot. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1957. Pp. ix, 434. $5.00.)

The student of history will read this biography of Marie Antoinette with reserve, and the reserve will increase as he proceeds because the author's chatty style and concern for minutiae will make the reader wonder whether he is perusing history or fiction. All such doubts will be dispelled as the realization grows that M. Castelot has, indeed, mastered his subject matter and that he has done an admirable amount of research. In presenting the fruits of his study he never allows himself to be carried away from his objective of giving a true, if somewhat sympathetic, picture of the character of the tragic queen of Louis XVI. To those who might ask if there is need of yet another biography of a subject which has been so thoroughly treated by others, the author would answer in the affirmative on the grounds that he has had access to unpublished material in the archives of Paris and Vienna. In the end result there is little that will startle the professional historian or add to his working knowledge of this Queen of France. But the freshness of the approach with its eye to detail makes any attempt to review this phase of the revolutionary period an enjoyable undertaking.

M. Castelot abandons the traditional approach of taking up the various phases of Marie's life and chooses, instead, to follow the chronological order. He begins the biography with the presentation of the events immediately preceding the official announcement of the betrothal of Marie to the dauphin, the future Louis XVI, and, relying heavily on correspondence, proceeds to follow her career from the time of the fateful marriage by proxy down through the execution of the Widow Capet. His descriptions of the complicated etiquette of the French court and the diplomatic problems arising from the presence in that court of an Austrian, are full and complete. There is constant evidence of the author's delicacy and balance in dealing with matters that have been the basis for so many accusations and the source of seemingly endless controversy. The proper amount of delicacy is maintained in the review of those events associated with the married life of the queen and Louis XVI; and the relationship between Fersen and Marie Antoinette is handled with balance ending in a sane and credible conclusion. The affair of the diamond necklace is presented in a manner no less thorough and fair. Although the last word may not have been said about these matters, further studies will have to take the author's conclusions into consideration.

Many historians will welcome M. Castelot's endeavor to give detailed figures when discussing the financial expenditures of the court, especially those of the queen; figures which give substance to the complaints lodged against the court in the time of crisis. An impressive section on sources, including further remarks about controversial aspects of the period will impress the scholar with the fact that M. Castelot has done his work of investigation thoroughly and well. There is no special pleading in this study of the life of Marie Antoinette; she emerges as a living character with all her shortcomings along with the dignity and solid characteristics that so ennobled her during her time of trial. The translator has happily managed to understand his task so well that the narrative runs smoothly and impressively to the end.

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British Emigration to North America. Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period. By W. S. Shepperson. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 302. $5.00.)

Because the title of this monograph is so broad, it is more than usually necessary to take careful note of the limits which the author sets for himself, as explained in the preface and the sub-title. The preface warns us that this is not a study covering the almost four centuries during which Britons have migrated to North America. Rather, the narrative centers on the period 1837-1861, from the accession of Queen Victoria and the establishment of the first permanent emigration department in the British government, to the opening of the American Civil War, which virtually stopped the flow of emigrants to North America. For the purposes of this study, the term Briton is defined to exclude the Irish, since "the great Irish exodus" of this time "represented an essentially different movement" (p. xiii) from the emigration from England, Scotland, and Wales.

Nor is the book merely a narrative of events. It is also and most effectively a history of ideas—of, as the sub-title says, "Projects and Opinions." Events and ideas alike are viewed not from the usual standpoint of the nation receiving the migrants, but from the less often regarded side of the sender-nation. The economic maladjustments and attendant social, religious, and political dissatisfactions of the poor in Britain are described as the chief reasons why the emigrants left home. Interest in the emigration movement was deep and intense among some few leaders and groups in the country; Wilmot-Horton, Wakefield, and the Radicals; Cobbett and Carlyle; ship-owners, labor unions, and Scottish landlords. But the majority of the country was indifferent, and when the emigrants left they did so largely on their own initiative. Emigration "was a self-impelled, personally arranged, and individually financed adventure" (p. 243). This led to some exploitation of the emigrants by Utopian idealists, thieving land speculators, and grasping merchants. But on the whole, Professor Shepperson concludes, the proportion of those victimized was not large, and *laissez-faire* proved to be a reasonably workable philosophy of emigration. The stories of the attempts at exploitation, successful and unsuccessful, are among the most interesting and exciting sections of the book.

Professor Shepperson exonerates the British government from the sharpest charges of weakness, vacillation, and lack of concern leveled against its emigration policy. For any government to adopt a positive program of fostering and directing emigration would, he says, have been equal to an admission that it was incapable of grappling with major domestic issues; would have created immense problems of selection and administration; and would have required the establishment of a domestic relief program at least equivalent to the emigration program. No government in early Victorian England could assume such responsibilities. But if Britain gave no direction to North American emigration, neither did she narrowly restrict it; and, on the positive side, she did "develop the most advanced and humane safeguards for emigrant transport of any country in the world" (p. 250).

The book is very well organized; the style is direct and clear, if not distinguished; the research is admirable, especially in the use Professor Shepperson has made of contemporary newspapers, periodicals, books and pamphlets, and the trade union materials in the Webb Collection. The monograph should prove a valuable addition to British Empire studies.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The British Association for American Studies is conducting a survey of sources for American history in the United Kingdom with the intention of providing a guide to the location and general nature of all unpublished materials relating to the United States. Should anyone possess information that would be helpful to this important project they would do a service if they would communicate it to Professor Marcus Cunliffe, secretary of the association, in care of the Department of American Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester 13, England.

Historical minded residents of northwestern Indiana have begun to work for the preservation of the old Bailly Homestead near Chesterton, Indiana. In the early decades of the nineteenth century Joseph Bailly and his family were the chief residents and he was one of the most important fur traders of southern Michigan and northern Indiana. The homestead is in a fair condition of preservation. In the cluster of buildings around the homestead is one which for a time was used as a chapel for the visiting Catholic missionaries.

The Bishop Baraga Association of Marquette, Michigan, which is collecting material on the history of Frederick Baraga, first Bishop of Marquette, has acquired a new and more spacious headquarters through the aid of the Most Reverend Thomas L. Noa, present Bishop of Marquette. The new address is 521 W. Fisher Street. The annual Baraga Day of the diocese was celebrated at Negaumee, Michigan, on September 15, where Bishop Baraga performed his last public ceremony in laying the cornerstone of the church on November 10, 1867.

An Institute of Ethnic Studies has been established at Georgetown University with Professor Tibor Kerekes as executive director and a staff of eight members drawn from the faculty. The institute will embrace in its investigations the history and culture—both secular and religious—the economic, political, and social development, and the racial and linguistic characteristics of two groups in particular, viz., the nations forcibly submerged in the Communist-dominated orbit and the peoples who are emerging from a colonial status. The results of the institute's investigations will be published with a view to dissemination of a more exact knowledge and deeper understanding of the problems relating to these peoples.

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at Marymount College, New York, on October 29 when Henry Hope Reed, Jr., gave a paper on "The New Prometheus—Visual Glory in a Democratic Society." Mr. Reed is the co-author of *American Skyline* with Christopher Tunnard, and his latest book dealing with American architecture is entitled, *The Golden City.*

The Reverend A. L. Gabriel, Director of Notre Dame's Mediaeval Institute, who was recently appointed Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the President of the French Republic, organized a symposium held under the patronage of M. Hervé Alphand, French Ambassador to the United States, commemorating the 700th anniversary of the founding of the Sorbonne. This took place at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, on October 29 under the auspices of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame. Two papers dealing with the celebrated French institution were presented at the symposium. Canon Gabriel spoke on "Robert de Sorbonne, the Founder," and Monsignor Glorieux, President of the Catholic Institute of Lille, discussed "The Origins of the College of Sorbonne."

The first convention of a new organization of ecclesiastical archivists was held in Rome on November 5-8, 1957. This *Associazione Archivistica Ecclesiastica* met under the patronage of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Librarian and Archivist of the Holy Roman Church. The opening day was marked by an audience with the Pope at Castel Gandolfo during which the pontiff addressed the participants on the Church's interest in archives. The next day began with a Mass offered for the late Giovanni Mercati, formerly the Cardinal Archivist, which was followed by visits to the Vatican Archives and to the State Archives. That afternoon at the Domus Mariae the convention was greeted by Cardinal Tisserant and addressed by Angelo Cardinal G. Roncalli, Patriarch of Venice, on "The Church and Archives." During the next two days papers were heard on "The Tasks and Responsibility of the Archivist" by Monsignor Martino Giusti, Prefect of the Vatican Archives and Vice-President of the Pontifical Commission for the Ecclesiastical Archives of Italy; "Problems of Arrangement and Preservation" by Ambrogio Palestra, archivist of the Curia of Milan, and "Archives and Historical Research" by Giulio Battelli, archivist of the Vatican Archives. These and several briefer papers were all followed by discussion. Professor Battelli was the guiding hand of the convention and presided over the brief business meeting which discussed plans for the publication of a journal in the near future. They likewise voted to meet next year in Milan. A lunch for the almost 200 participants closed the convention.

The purpose of the new association is "to contribute, under the inspiration of the directives of the Holy See, to the careful preservation and study of the archives which are of interest for the history of the Church; and to promote by every possible means the greater scientific and technical proficiency of its members in relation to such archives." Membership is open to those who serve or have served in archives directly or indirectly connected with the Holy See, or in archives that are of particular interest for the history of the Church, as well as to those who by promoting archival science contribute to the progress of these two types of archives. The headquarters of the association are in Vatican City.

The Conference on the History of Religion in the New World during Colonial Times held at the Library of Congress on December 17-18 under the auspices of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History drew representatives from Brazil, Canada, France, Italy, Mexico, Peru, and the United States. Following the twelve formal papers there were constructive discussions in which the approximately forty persons in attendance participated, and during which many of the major features of the religious life among both Catholics and Protestants of the colonial new world were covered. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., director of the Academy of American Franciscan History, served as secretary in arranging the conference, the Library of Congress proved a generous and hospitable host, and the expenses of the conferences were met by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. At the closing session it was voted to publish the formal papers with brief summaries to cover the principal issues raised during the discussion periods.

At a dinner meeting of the Academy of American Franciscan History on the night of December 18 the academy's annual Serra Award for 1957 was bestowed upon Dr. Silvio Zavala of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History.

The Committee on International Relations of the University of Notre Dame held the second and concluding session of the symposium on "What America Stands For" on November 8. Participants in the symposium were: Professor Charles Harding of the University of Chicago, Chancellor Clark Kerr of the University of California at Berkeley, Professor Karl de Schweinitz, Jr., of Northwestern University, and Professor Guy B. Johnson of North Carolina.

K. Grzybowski of the Foreign Law Division of the Library of Congress delivered a lecture on "Polish Canonists of the Fifteenth Century on the Jus Belli: A Note on the Genealogy of International Law" at the Catholic University of America on December 3. The lecture was sponsored by the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law in America.

Readers of the REVIEW will be glad to learn that a biography of Charles Joseph Eugène de Mazenod (1782-1861), Bishop of Marseilles and founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, is being written by Canon Jean Baptiste Leflon, professor of church history in the Catholic Institute of Paris. The Oblates are fortunate to have an historian of Canon Leflon's scholarly attainments to prepare the definitive life of their founder whose cause for beatification has been introduced at the Holy See. Canon Leflon's masterly grasp of the history of the modern French Church, especially in the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, has been amply demonstrated by his previous publications such as *Monsieur Emery: l'église d'ancien régime et la Revolution* (Paris, 1944), *La crise révolutionnaire, 1789-1846* (Paris, 1949), the latter being one of the volumes in the Fliche-Martin series in the general history of the Church.

The October, 1957, issue of *American Heritage* marked the third anniversary of this attractive magazine which during the past year increased its circulation by 75,000 to a record high of 250,000 copies. The October issue carried an article by Paul Horgan entitled "Churchman of the Desert," a vivid account of John Baptist Lamy (1814-1888), first Archbishop of Santa Fe. Mr. Horgan, a Pulitzer Prize winner for his two volumes, *The Great River* (New York, 1954), and author as well of *The Centuries of Santa Fe* (New York, 1956) is an authority on the history and literature of the Southwest. It is a fortunate thing for the history of the Church in that region, therefore, that he should now be at work on a biography of Archbishop Lamy, a character so widely known to readers in the English-speaking world by reason of Willa Cather's charming novel, *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (New York, 1927).

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited by F. L. Cross (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, pp. xix, 1492. $17.50), will be found a highly useful reference work. Its more than 6,000 entries contain much of interest to historians. The articles are brief and to the point, with a bibliography attached to many.

The *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum* MCC, sponsored by the Union Académique Internationale, has begun publication with an "Index scriptorum" (194 pp.), and the fascicule containing the letter "L" (232 cols.). It is estimated that the work will run to 4,640 quarto pages. Definitions are in French. The British distributors are W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge.

The Historical Institute of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin publish a *Bibliographia Franciscana* as part of the *Collectanea Franciscana.* The latest *Bibliographia Franciscana* is Tome X and covers the years 1951-53.

The bibliography contains writings on the entire Franciscan Order listed under the following headings: I. Subsidia et Instrumenta; II. Relationes de S. Francisco; III. Relationes de Studiis, Doctrinis, et Scriptoribus Franciscanis.

As a means of continuing and supplementing the work of M. de Meulemeester, C.SS.R., *Bibliographie génerale des écrivains Rédemptoristes* (3 vols., Louvain, 1935-1939), various bibliographies are being published in the *Spicilegium Historicum C.SS.R.* Bibliographies have appeared on Sts. Alphonsus, Clement, Gerard and on the Redemptoristines. The latest issue (Vol. V, pp. 136-222) contains a bibliography prepared by A. Sampers, C.SS.R., entitled: "Bio-Bibliographia C.SS.R., 1938-56." This bibliography does not take into account the canonized saints or those whose causes of canonization or beatification are being considered by the Holy See. A special bibliography is being prepared for these. In the present bibliography, the entries are often necrology notices or jubilee notices that contain biographical material. In ever so many cases the entries are exceedingly important, both from the standpoint of the significance of the men and the published material dealing with them, e.g., Buijs, Cardinal Dechamps, Desurmont, Alexander de Meo, Hafkenscheid, Hecker, Bishop Gerald Murray, Schrijvers, Tschenens, Cardinal van Rossum.

On November 11-12 Mount Saint Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland, inaugurated the celebration of its sesquicentennial year with the first of three special convocations when honorary degrees were conferred upon the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, and the Most Reverend Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of Natchez-Jackson, a member of the Class of 1904. This second oldest Catholic college in the United States owed its origin to a French emigré priest, John Dubois (1764-1842) who served as its first president until 1826 when he was appointed as the third Bishop of New York. Mount Saint Mary's has numbered among its alumni many members of the American hierarchy and during the nineteenth century it played an important role in the history of the American Church, the details of which were recounted in the two large volumes of Mary M. Meline and Edward F. X. McSweeny entitled *The Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911).

The year 1957 marks the golden jubilee of the Redemptorist studentate at Mount Saint Alphonsus, Esopus, New York, and of the novitiate at Ilchester, Maryland. The house at Ilchester, which goes back to 1868, was the House of Studies until 1907. To commemorate these jubilees, John V. McGuire, C.SS.R., wrote *The Esopus Story* (Esopus, 1957), and Paul T. Stroh, C.SS.R., wrote *Ilchester Memories, 1868-1957, to Commemorate the Golden Jubilee, 1907-1957, of the Redemptorist Novitiate at Ilchester,* *Maryland* (Ilchester, 1957). In both works one notes splendid photography, a thorough acquaintance with the printed sources, and the utilization of archival material. Actually, the bulk of the material had to be obtained from archives and a word of thanks is due the authors for their solid historical productions.

Charles J. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College celebrated his golden jubilee as a member of the Society of Jesus in August, 1957. Besides his activity as a teacher at West Baden, Father Metzger has become the chief Catholic authority on Catholic participation in the American Revolution. He is familiar to our readers as a frequent contributor to the REVIEW.

A prize of $50.00 has been awarded by the American Manuscript Society to Dr. Richard Walsh of Georgetown University for his article, published in the summer issue of *Manuscripts,* "Christopher Gadsden: the Challenge of His Diaries."

Frederick B. Pike, assistant professor of Latin American history in the University of Notre Dame, has been appointed to the Notre Dame Committee on International Relations to replace John J. Kennedy who is on leave of absence for research and study in the field of Latin American politics.

Robert Lacour-Gayet, who retired at the end of the last academic year as chairman of the Department of History in Saint John's University, Brooklyn, is now teaching American history and literature in the Catholic Institute of Paris.

In the Department of History and Government at Saint John's College, Jamaica, New York, Arpad Kovacs has been named chairman, Gaetano L. Vincitorio has been promoted to the rank of full professor, and Richard Harmond has been added as an instructor.

James A. Brundage, formerly of Fordham, joined the faculty of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee at the opening of the present academic year with the rank of assistant professor of history.

During the second semester of the current scholastic year Belti Shah Gilani of New Delhi will teach a course on modern India and lecture in the Cleveland area under the auspices of John Carroll University. Dr. Gilani has been a member of the India National Congress over thirty years; he is ex-president of the All India Catholic League; for six years he has held posts in the Union of India Government; he was a member of the India delegation to the U.N. in 1954; in 1952 he was made papal privy chamberlain. Also at John Carroll R. Joseph Schork, a graduate of Oxford, will teach ancient history.

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